THE PAPERS *of the*
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY
OF AMERICA

VOLUME FIFTY-ONE FOURTH QUARTER, 1957

The Nineteenth Century Three-Volume Novel

By CHARLES E. LAUTERBACH
and
EDWARD S. LAUTERBACH

THE three-volume novel was a significant form of publishing fiction in England between 1800 and 1894. One hundred five such novels by one hundred different authors have been examined from a mechanical and bibliographical point of view for the purposes of this paper. These were all first editions except *The Gilded Age* (1874). Most of them were in original covers, but some had been mutilated by Riviere, Zaehnsdorf *et al.* These particular novels were chosen because of their availability. Even among the better known authors some titles are very rare.

Making the word count of a hundred five nineteenth-century novels would be impossible without mechanical aids and shortcuts. An electrical word counter was developed which made it possible to count about 10,000 words an hour with only slight error.[1] A formula was evolved which brought the time element within reasonable limits. Eventually the procedure was perfect-

[1] A paper describing this electrical bibliographic aid is being prepared by the authors.

ed to the point where it became possible to average a novel a day, checking some fifty items, including the word count, within each book.

The usual technique is to make a sample count of a certain number of pages, find the average number of words per page and multiply this average by the total number of pages. This will yield a fairly reliable result if the pages tend to be uniform. This condition, however, rarely obtains. The beginning and the end pages of chapters are variable and, if averaged without regard to length, will contribute an error of several thousand words. Verse quotations in the text likewise produce deviations from the norm, as do footnotes, which are usually printed in small type.

To find a way of eliminating some of these errors, an actual count was made of all deviate pages. Then an actual count was made of every twentieth page and an average per page reckoned. The total number of pages minus the number of deviate pages was multiplied by the average and to this product was added the number of words in the deviate pages.

The accuracy of the method was checked by making an actual count of two novels, *Japhet in Search of a Father* (1836) by Frederick Marryat, and *Barchester Towers* (1857) by Anthony Trollope. The actual count of both these three-deckers was compared with the results obtained by using the formula.

Novel	*Actual Count*	*Formula Count*	*Deviation*
Japhet	145,134	144,857	- 277
Barchester Towers	198,738	187,275	-1465

The data indicate a minus error in both cases. By the law of chance an analogous plus error, equally small, can be expected. We can conclude that a probable error of a plus or minus 1500 may be expected by the use of this method. This is relatively small compared with the length of the novels involved and indicates an acceptable statistical validity.

The data gathered from the examination of the one hundred five three-volume novels are summarized in six tables as follows:

Table I lists the authors studied, alphabetically arranged, with the title of the novel, the date of publication and the name of the publisher. Each entry is preceded by a number which is a key number and is used in subsequent tables to identify the author and publisher.

Table II lists the novels in alphabetical order and a count of the number of words in each novel, including preface, chapter headings, table of contents and miscellaneous material.

Table III again lists the novels and shows the number of chapters and pages in each; the average number of lines and words per page; the size of the book- and type-page; the size of type; and the amount of lead used in setting up the page. The number of illustrations is also included.

Table IV compares eleven three-deckers with their corresponding one-volume reprints.

Tables V and VI deal with supplementary data.

The prevalence of the multiple-volume novel in the latter half of the eighteenth century is clearly shown in a study of the Minerva Press by Dorothy Blakey. This author lists 753 novels printed by this press during the years 1775-1820, indicating the years of publication and the number of volumes in each title.[2] If we arrange these data chronologically showing the number of volumes per title, some interesting facts emerge (Table V). First of all, there were few one-volume publications. Secondly, in the earlier decades, the two-volume novel predominated. Thirdly, the two-volume titles gradually disappeared, and in the half-decade 1795-1799 the three- and four-volume novels began to take over. One other fact may be noted—from 1815 to 1820 the three-volume novel took a slight lead, which was prophetic of what actually came to pass in the later nineteenth century.

The ubiquity of the three-decker in the Victorian era was inspired by the money made, by author and publisher alike, from certain three-volume novels published earlier in the century. In

[2] Dorothy Blakey, *The Minerva Press: 1790-1820* (London, Bibliographical Society, 1939 [for 1935]), pp. 272-292.

1814 *Waverley* by Sir Walter Scott appeared. It was a three-volume novel in duodecimo, bound in nondescript boards. The publication of this book and the subsequent popularity of the Waverley series not only influenced English fiction strongly so far as content and style were concerned, but also became the "destiny" which decreed three volumes to a story. It is impossible to understand how the nineteenth century three-decker achieved its eminence without comprehending the great popularity of Scott's tales. Their sales ran into thirty, forty, fifty thousand copies. Before the Waverley series had run its course, the novels had been translated into at least a dozen languages including French, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Castilian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Danish, Swedish, German, and Greek. In 1822 the profits of Scott's works were estimated at £10,000 to £15,000 a year. In 1823 Constable ". . . completed the purchase from Scott of the copyright of the Waverley Novels, for which he had paid up to this time the sum of £22,000, in addition to Scott's half-share of profits of the early editions." *Woodstock* (1826) realized the large sum of £8228.[3] These are random items. Returns from the other tales were as great or greater. Scott's profits were enormous.

Ivanhoe was published on December 18, 1819 (dated 1820 on the t.-p.). It was three volumes post octavo in boards priced at 30*s*. *The Monastery* was published in 1820. "It appeared in three vols. 12mo, like the earlier works of the Series."[4] These earlier works included, of course, *Waverley* (1814), *Guy Mannering* (1815), *The Antiquary* (1816), and *Rob Roy* (1818). The three series of *Tales of My Landlord* had appeared in duodecimo, in four volumes for each series. *The Abbot*, published in September, 1820, was also issued in three volumes, duodecimo. *Ivanhoe* had been a departure from the usual method of publishing Scott's novels in multiple-volume form in duodecimo.

[3][William Lowe Carrie,] *The Ballantyne Press and Its Founders: 1796-1908* (Edinburgh, Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1909), pp. 74-75; 77.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 72-73.

Kenilworth was published in January, 1821. It appeared in "... three vols. post 8vo, similar to 'Ivanhoe,' and this form was adhered to in all the subsequent volumes of the Series."[5] It is significant that all of Soctt's individual novels following *Kenilworth* (except *Peveril of the Peak*, issued in 1822 in four volumes, post octavo) were published in three volumes post octavo, priced at a guinea and a half.[6] Since the Waverley novels achieved such popularity and harvested such rewards for both Scott and his publishers, is it to be wondered at that other publishers adopted the Waverley form and took the three-decker to their hearts? To imitate this form was not so much flattery as good business on the part of the publishers.[7] "Money talks," its language is imperative, and one need look no further for the *raison d'être* of the nineteenth century three-decker at a guinea and a half.[8]

Originally the expression "three-decker" was a nautical term of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, applied to a war-vessel having three gundecks. The three-decker was considered a big ship, over 200 feet in length, with a beam of more than 55 feet, and a displacement of over 3000 tons. It was the super-dreadnought of the line until steam took over. Nelson's flagship *Victory* was a three-decker. In the parlance of the Royal Navy all three-decked ships were considered "first rate."

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[6] *The Pirate* (1822), *The Fortunes of Nigel* (1822), *Quentin Durward* (1823), *St. Ronan's Well* (1824), *Redgauntlet* (1824), *Woodstock* (1826), and *Anne of Geierstein* (1829) all appeared in three volumes, post octavo. The price of these three-volume novels was £1, 11*s.* 6*d.*, the equivalent of 31*s.* 6*d.* See page 2 of "Works Published By Archibald Constable & Co. Edinburgh," a prefatory catalog bound in the Huntington Library copy (HEH 84436) of Scott's *Halidon Hill* (Edinburgh, Constable, 1822), and also *The London Catalogue Of Books . . . 1814 To 1846* (London, Thomas Hodgson, 1846), pp. 425-426.

[7] It is probably due to the guinea and a half price of Scott's novels that nearly all subsequent three-decker novels were listed at 31*s.* 6*d.*, with the 6*d.* tail dangling at the end. Without the half guinea (10*s.* 6*d.*) the price might have been in even shillings. The price 31*s.* 6*d.* was often varied by stating its equivalent £1, 11*s.* 6*d.*

[8] The lending libraries also helped sustain the three-decker, for it is obvious that a novel in three volumes would bring more rent per volume per week than the same novel in only one volume.

The three-decker was a costly vessel, as a remark in the novel *Paul Jones* about the amount of gold it would take to build a three-decked ship shows.[9] And it was a "classy" ship. It had what the Victorians called *ton*, connoting style and finery.[10]

The term "three-decker" came to be applied figuratively to a thing or person of great size or importance. Next, the term was transferred to something consisting of three divisions or three sections. The literary analogy of the three-volume novel with the three-decker ship was in use at least as early as 1838. No doubt the term "three-decker" as a nickname or as literary slang had been in use among literary circles and in newspapers and journals for several years before.[11] The preface to the novel *Topsail-Sheet Blocks* (1838) reads as follows: "My first launch was a single volume; I then tried a two-decker; and now I have boldly commissioned a first-rate, with three tiers of artillery. I make up my mind to some random shots, and perhaps a rattling broadside; but I have nailed my color to the mast, and will never strike. . . . I hope to carry my flag triumphantly into the port of public favor, that has given me snug moorings heretofore."[12] One can not fail to note the completeness of the figure of speech which links the literary three-decker to its prototype. It is interesting to observe that expressions like four-decker, five-decker, six-decker, and so on, never emerged, probably because of the lack of a nautical model.

In less than a quarter of a century after the publication of

[9] Allan Cunningham, *Paul Jones* (Edinburgh, Oliver & Boyd, 1826), III, 40.

[10] See the description of a three-decker by Thomas Hope, *Anastasius* (London, Murray, 1819), I, 65. Rudyard Kipling's poem, "The Three-Decker," ll. 1, 37-40, also describes the three-decked sailing vessel.

[11] Edward FitzGerald in a letter to John Allen, October 31, 1835, says: "Pray do write me: a few lines soon are better than a three-decker a month hence. . . ." The analogy to something large is obvious. Perhaps FitzGerald was comparing a long letter to a novel three volumes long. See William Aldis Wright (ed.), *Letters and Literary Remains of Edward FitzGerald* (London, Macmillan, 1889), I, 34.

[12] Matthew Henry Barker, *Topsail-Sheet Blocks* (London, Bentley, 1838), I, "Preface," [v].

Waverley the literary three-decker had established itself as the super-dreadnought of English fiction. By the end of the nineteenth century, the three-volume novel, like the three-decked sailing vessel, was supposed to be "first-rate" and was considered a fine luxury item for a limited number of readers. In his memoirs the publisher William Tinsley regretted the demise of the three-decker, and intimated that the three-volume novel form helped weed out works that were not worth reprinting: ". . . I think it can hardly be said that the suppression of the old form [the three-volume novel] has in any way improved English fiction, for without a doubt, that form of publishing was a safeguard against hundreds of inferior works of fiction finding themselves in anything like a standard one-volume form." Tinsley goes on to say that he considered the first editions in three volumes as "splendid" and worth the expense to produce.[13] In an interview, Mr. Chatto of Chatto and Windus, publishers, supported the three-volume form strongly: "Take the great works of fiction in the past; it seems to me unquestionable that they have benefited by being published in the more luxurious form."[14] In the late Victorian era there was no doubt that the three-volume novel was a luxury item, published for a small body of readers—either those who could afford a subscription to the circulating libraries,[15] or the "collector, buying at full price."[16] Note, however, that it was the publishers themselves, Tinsley and Chatto, who proclaimed that the three-volume novel had features of splendor and luxury.

By the 1830's, possibly earlier, publishers and authors were committed to the three-decker. Their thinking was definitely in

[13] William Tinsley, *Random Recollections of an Old Publisher* (London, Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent, 1900), I, 53-54.

[14] "A Symposium of Publishers," *Publishers' Circular*, LXI (November 10, 1894), 550, hereafter indicated as *P. C.*

[15] *P. C.*, LXI (July 28, 1894), 80, and (August 4, 1894), 101.

[16] *P. C.*, LXI (July 14, 1894), 34.

terms of three volumes. The first contract between Dickens and Richard Bentley reads as follows:

London, August 22, 1836.
An Agreement made this day between Charles Dickens, Esq., of 15, Furnival's Inn, Holborn, on the one part, and Richard Bentley, of New Burlington Street, Publisher on the other. The said Charles Dickens, Esq., hereby agrees to write a novel, the title of which is not yet determined, to form three volumes of 320 pages each, and 25 lines in each page, and to place the said work in the hands of the said Richard Bentley for the purpose of publication.[17]

The outcome of this agreement appears to have been *Oliver Twist* (1838), but only after endless misunderstanding and contention. It is hard to conceive of a more unsatisfactory document. No remuneration is indicated, no delivery date specified. Nine hundred sixty pages are called for with 25 lines to the page, but nothing is said as to the size of the page, the size of the type or the amount of lead—all items of considerable importance in the production of three-volume novels. *Oliver Twist,* eventually published as a three-decker, contained 953 pages of story text of 24 lines each, but with many pages of only 23 lines. The type was 10 point, leaded 5.5 points. There were 51 chapters and a total of 160,000 words. There were 24 pages of illustrations by Cruikshank, not paginated.

The typography was generous from Dickens' standpoint. He had agreed to deliver 24,000 lines. Deducting the blank space occasioned by the beginnings and endings of chapters, and the seven pages by which the manuscript was short, according to the terms of the contract he actually delivered only 21,744 lines.[18]

[17] Included among the Bentley papers at the University of Illinois. This agreement was brought to the attention of the authors by Mr. Royal A. Gettmann, Professor of English at the University of Illinois, to whom the authors are indebted for many helpful suggestions.

[18] The beginning page and the end page of a chapter in a three-decker usually average out about half the number of words in a full page of letter press. The division of *Oliver Twist* into 51 chapters yields 47 pages of blank space for which

In the book as published each line averaged 7.5 words, so that Dickens cut himself a bonus of 16,920 words which he had agreed to deliver but never did. This may not have occurred to either Dickens or Bentley, but the fact remains that the publisher had to do some padding to eke out his three volumes of 320 pages each. On the other hand, the contract with its vague conditions looks like an effort on the part of a shrewd publisher to tie up a young and promising, but inexperienced author.

Much later in the century Eliza Lynn Linton presents another example of an author thinking in terms of three volumes in an unpublished autographed letter dated July 6, 1888, to an unknown correspondent who had been making inquiries as to her methods of writing: "All true work should have in its essence the scientific spirit of growth, accretion, from one primary idea. To go on haphazard, letting the story write itself, is I hold bad, fundamentally & academically. You must know what you want to say—what you want to show—else you simply ramble round about & come up with a round turn when you have completed your 900 pages."[19] Nine hundred pages—three volumes of approximately three hundred pages each—inevitably the three-decker. Despite Mrs. Linton's idealistic language about the structure of a novel, she evinces her thinking as bound by "900 pages."

Thackeray was fully aware of the three-volume form imposed upon the Victorian novel writer. He says, not without a trace of satire, in *Vanity Fair*:

> Or if, on the contrary, we had taken a fancy for the terrible, and made the lover of the new *femme de chambre* a professional burglar, who bursts into the house with his band, slaughters black Sambo at the feet of his master, and carries off Amelia in her night-dress, not to be let loose again till the third volume, we should easily have constructed a tale of thrilling

Dickens wrote nothing, but, of course, they contributed that much to the 960 pages he had agreed to deliver. Dividing a story into a large number of chapters was a common method of padding a three-decker.

[19] Huntington Library MS HM1889. This item is reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

interest, through the fiery chapters of which the readers should hurry, panting.[20]

And again: "This is what he pined after. Here it is—the summit, the end—the last page of the third volume."[21] In *Catherine* he says: "We say, let your rogues in novels act like rogues, and your honest men like honest men; don't let us have any juggling and thimblerigging with virtue and vice, so that, at the end of three volumes, the bewildered reader shall not know which is which. . . ."[22] Thackeray never grew tired of throwing barbs at the three-decker. He, like most Victorian authors, had to think in terms of three volumes. The form was constantly before them. Many, such as Thackeray and Dickens, attempted to circumvent it by publishing their works in parts. Incidentally, they undersold the three-decker and reached a larger audience than even the author who was printed first in three volumes and then reprinted in a cheap one-volume edition.

A point often made in the study of the evolution of English fiction is that the nineteenth century three-decker was padded. The concept of padding is seldom developed further. The term is generally understood to mean that authors wrote superfluous wordage, especially to fill or pad the middle volume of a set of three. There were, however, much more subtle ways of padding than merely by excess wordage. Such methods included chapter chopping and the use of quotations, prefaces and footnotes.

Once the three-decker became established, the author began thinking in terms of length. He had to eke out his nine hundred pages and he sometimes forgot his story to meet his quota. He indulged in long-winded descriptions and prolonged characterizations and often resorted to the episode. Some of the more skill-

[20] William Makepeace Thackeray, *Vanity Fair* (London, Bradbury & Evans, 1848), p. [43].

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 621.

[22] Thackeray, *Catherine*, *Fraser's Magazine*, CXIII (May, 1839), 617.

ful authors even dared to admit that they were padding. This attitude is shown by Frederick Marryat in *The King's Own* (1830) in which he confesses:

> But I have digressed sadly from the concatenation of ideas. The ant made me think of my grandmother,—my grandmother of my uncle,—my uncle of my cousin,—and her death of my dream, for "We are such stuff as dreams are made of, and our little lives are rounded with a sleep." . . . .
>
> I could mention many instances of this kind, but I shall reserve them till I have grown older; then I will be as garrulous as Montaigne. As it is, I think I hear the reader say,—"All this may be very true, but what has it to do with the novel?" Nothing, I grant; but it has a great deal to do with *making a book* [italics are Marryat's],—for I have completed a whole chapter out of nothing.[23]

It remained for Bulwer-Lytton to apply the Marryat technique of "making a chapter out of nothing" in all its pristine beauty. In Bulwer-Lytton's *Paul Clifford* (1830), III, p. 46, appears a chapter which consists of a chapter heading ("CHAPTER III."), a one-line quotation, a three-word salutation and a block of 104 exclamation points. This is reminiscent of the pranks of Laurence Sterne in *Tristram Shandy*.

Apparently Thackeray also understood the economics of making chapters. In the 1848 version of *Vanity Fair* he writes, "In a word, this chapter about Vauxhall would have been so exceeding short but for the above little disquisition, that it scarcely would have deserved to be called a chapter at all."[24] This "little disquisition" of 667 words resolved itself into the following 71 words in the 1864 text, the last revised by Thackeray himself, "But my readers must hope for no such romance, only a homely story, and must be content with a chapter about Vauxhall, which is so short that it scarce deserves to be called a chapter at all. And

[23] Frederick Marryat, *The King's Own* (London, Colburn and Bentley, 1830), II, 267-272.

[24] Thackeray, *Vanity Fair* (London, Bradbury & Evans, 1848), p. 46.

yet it is a chapter, and a very important one too. Are there not little chapters in everybody's life, that seem to be nothing, and yet affect all the rest of the history?"[25]

But there were still easier ways of padding a novel than by making chapters out of nothing. The author or publisher need only to multiply the number of chapters. If a book normally has 30 chapters, divide it into 60 or 90. Each additional chapter division adds a page to the book. For appearance's sake, a chapter in a three-decker usually began near the middle of a page and the text two or three lines farther down. If a quotation was used, as often was done, only two or three lines would remain for the text.

Furthermore, every chapter has an ending which is rarely a full page in length. It may be a half page but often it is only two or three lines. In Wilkie Collins's *Basil* (1852), I, p. 262, is an example of a chapter ending of two lines and one word, thirteen words in all. The rest of the page is blank. In George Macdonald's *Sir Gibbie* (1879), I, p. 52, a chapter winds up with two lines and one word, sixteen words in all. This is not unusual. Three, four and five lines on a final page of a chapter are common. The unusual last page of a chapter is the one which extends halfway or more.

The effects of chapter chopping seem to have been well understood by both author and publisher and no doubt were practiced by both. Frederick Marryat's *Japhet in Search of a Father* appeared originally as a serial in the *Metropolitan* (London) magazine from October, 1834, to January, 1836. There were no chapter divisions, just the monthly portions without any numerical designations. As fast as the story came out in the *Metropolitan*, it was plagiarized in America and published in 19 chapters. In 1836 *Japhet* was published in London by Saunders & Ottley as a three-decker and attained the eminence of 79 chapters.

[25] Thackeray, *Vanity Fair*, ed. George Saintsbury (London, Oxford University Press, n.d.), pp. 61; 882-884.

Seventy-nine chapters means 158 partially covered pages (one beginning, one ending page for each chapter). The average number of words to a page in the 1836 version of this novel is 172. One hundred fifty-eight pages should deliver 27,176 words. They contained, by actual count, 13,570 words, or half the number of words on the same number of average pages. By the simple expedient of chopping the novel into 79 chapters, the three-decker was padded with 79 pages.

As another example, *Lavengro* (1851) by George Borrow, contains 100 chapters. The average number of words per page is 202. Two hundred average pages contain 40,000 words. The beginnings and the endings of the 100 chapters account for 23,575 words, so a bonus of 16,825 words, or 83 pages, exists. Table III shows other cases of multiple-chaptered novels which undoubtedly added "fat" to thin volumes.

Of the hundred five three-deckers examined for this paper the median number of chapters is 45. That means statistically that 52.5 novels have 45 chapters or less; 52.5 have 45 or more. Those novels which exceed 45 chapters may probably be considered with some suspicion so far as the functional necessity of excessive division is concerned.

Heading a chapter with a lengthy quotation also helped to use up space. This was a trick worth knowing. Susan Edmondstone Ferrier in her novel *The Inheritance* (1824) uses 111 quotations by 61 identified authors and six unknown, in 106 chapters. Of the 111 quotations, 73 are verse and 38 prose. Shakespeare is quoted more frequently than anyone else with 12 credits; Dryden and Euripides are next with five each; then Dante and Quarles with four each; and the rest follow with one, two and three. The total number of words in these quotations is 2931. Since the average number of words in a page of text is 198, Miss Ferrier has added 15 pages to her book without writing a line. *Tylney Hall* (1834) by Thomas Hood uses 3112 words in chapter headings; *The Budget of the Bubble Family* (1840) by Rosina Bulwer, 2628;

Lavengro, 2824. Table II shows the frequency with which chapter headings were used and the number of words in the headings. While many are not excessive in word count, in 19 novels the headings comprise over a thousand words. A few novels do not use any headings, but they are in the minority.

Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner took occasion to ridicule this practice in *The Gilded Age* (1873). In the preface they say:

> No apology is needed for following the learned custom of placing attractive scraps of literature at the heads of our chapters. It has been truly observed by Wagner that such headings, with their vague suggestions of the matter which is to follow them, pleasantly inflame the reader's interest without wholly satisfying his curiosity, and we will hope that it may be found to be so in the present case.
>
> Our quotations are set in a vast number of tongues; this is done for the reason that very few foreign nations among whom the book will circulate can read in any language but their own; whereas we do not write for a particular class or sect or nation, but to take in the whole world.[26]

These "attractive scraps of literature" simulate many tongues—Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Egyptian hieroglyphics, Chinese pictographs, and so on.[27]

A preface could absorb a lot of words. It might or might not be pertinent to the story. *Crichton* (1837) by William Harrison Ainsworth appeared with a preface of 41 pages of 5715 words in Volume I. And to make sure it was not overlooked (or might it have been to fatten the volume a little?), the preface reappeared *in toto* in Volume III. It was reduced to six pages in subsequent editions. *Sir Ralph Esher* (1832) by Leigh Hunt contains an "author's letter" of 6082 words. *The Wild Irish Girl* (1806)

[26] Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, *The Gilded Age* (Hartford, American Publishing Company, 1873), "Preface," p. [v].

[27] It is interesting to note that while Twain and Warner were lambasting one convention they were drawn into another. *The Gilded Age* was first published in the United States in one volume in 1873. The next year it was published in London as a three-decker.

by Sydney Owenson Morgan contains a preface of 33 pages, 3403 words. Of the hundred five novels studied, 43 contained prefaces which ranged from 82 words to 6082 words. (See Table II.)

The Wild Irish Girl is a curiosity in the way of padding. Not only is there a preface of 3403 words, but 164 pages out of a total of 789 (21%) have footnotes, containing 12,383 words (actual count). In many instances the footnotes almost crowd out the text. On several pages are only two lines of text at the top, the rest of the page being given over to the footnote. The total number of words in the book is 112,119. Deducting the footnotes (12,383 words) and the preface (3403 words), the actual number of words in the story is 96,333. Here one also encounters the interesting phenomenon of the annotated footnote (I, p. 219 and II, p. 187). There are three sizes of type on these pages—the 12 point of the text, the 9 point of the footnote, and the 8 point of the footnote to the footnote.

But Mary Russell Mitford takes the palm when it comes to picking up a bit of wordage here and there. In *Belford Regis* (1835) she manages to get 21,999 words into the verse she quotes and the footnotes with which she supplements the text. Yet every footnote could have been omitted without injury to the story, and the quoted verse is no more indispensable.

The term "three-decker" does not carry any implication of length. Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818) contains 67,150 words of story text; Thomas Hope's *Anastasius* (1819), 273,966; but both are three-deckers by virtue of the fact that each was published in three volumes. If, like *Frankenstein,* a novel was not long enough to justify three volumes when it left the author's desk, the publisher had various means at his disposal to stretch it out. Chief among these were the practices of increasing the leading and the margins.

It is significant that the three-deckers of popular authors were

usually reprinted in cheap one-volume form a few months after the three-decker appeared. As a rule the one-volume reprint made its appearance after the economic possibilities of the three-decker had been exhausted. The book page of the reprint varied greatly—sometimes it was larger, sometimes smaller than the page of the three-decker. Sometimes, too, it was printed in two columns, like one-volume reprints of *Oliver Twist* (1853) and of Marryat's *Monsieur Violet* (1843). The most common type used in printing a three-decker was 10 point, though 12 point is frequently seen. A study of Table IV shows that the one-volume reprint was usually printed in smaller type.

The factor that really reduced the three-decker to its lowest terms was the leading.[28] Some three-deckers carry as much as six points of lead. This is more than half the height of 10 point type. Set the type solid, lengthen the line about 30%, then double the number of lines per page, and the wordage jumps from 157 to 467 per page. This is approximately the situation in the one-volume reprint of Ainsworth's *Crichton* (1849) where the type remains at 10 point but the lead shrinks from 6.3 to nothing. Table III shows that the amount of lead used in the one hundred five novels under consideration ranged from 2.0 points to 8.3 points. A little lead, say a point or two, makes for easy reading, but excessive lead is another way of making a chapter out of nothing.

Margins also consume space. Table IV compares a limited

[28] The method used in determining the amount of lead in a page of type is as follows. Using as an example *Joshua Marvel* (1871) by Benjamin L. Farjeon (see Table III): there are 26 lines of 10 point type to the page of this novel. This means 260 points of type. By measuring the text with a point rule from the top of an ascender in the first line of type to the bottom of a descender in the last line, we get 385 points over-all. The difference between the over-all points and the type should give the amount of lead, which in this case is 125 points. The number of lines of lead between the lines of type is always one less than the number of lines to the page, so that we have 25 lines of lead. The total lead, 125 points, divided by 25 gives 5 points of lead between each two lines of type. Unfortunately the amount of lead between lines is not always a whole number. This is due to the fact that to tighten a form, strips of paper are sometimes used instead of lead, resulting in fractional points.

number of three-deckers with their corresponding one-volume editions. It appears that every one-decker shows a reduction of margin except one, *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1898), and in some cases the reduction is marked. While margins could be measured in terms of millimeters, the authors have used what they think is a more significant method. Table III gives the dimensions of the book page and the type page of all the novels. Subtracting the area of the type page from the area of the book page gives the space in square millimeters devoted to margin. This difference between the margin space and the book page can then be expressed in terms of percentage. This yields a constant measure for all books.[29]

Anthony Trollope protested the use of wide margins and leading to pad his books.

> I found it very hard to make the purchasers understand that I had reasonable ground for objection to the process. What was it to me? How could it injure me if they stretched my pages by means of lead and margin into double the number I had intended. I have heard the same argument on other occasions. When I have pointed out that in this way the public would have to suffer, seeing that they would have to pay Mudie for the use of two volumes in reading that which ought to have been given to them in one, I have been assured that the public are pleased with literary short measure, that it is the object of novel-readers to get through novels as fast as they can, and that the shorter each volume is the better![30]

The one-volume reprints are, of course, witnesses to the fact that every three-decker could have appeared as a one-decker,

[29] The computation of margin space is elementary, but an example follows to forestall confusion. *Oliver Twist* (1838) may be used as an example (Table IV):

The book page measures 120 mm. x 194 mm. or 23,280 sq. mm.
The type page measures 72 mm. x 128 mm. or 9,216 sq. mm.
The difference is . . . . . 14,064 sq. mm.

This difference represents the amount of space in the margin, which is 60% of the page space (14,064 ÷ 23,280). Using the same formula for the one-volume reprint of *Oliver Twist* (1853), we find the margin space to be 39%, considerably less than in the three-decker.

[30] Anthony Trollope, *An Autobiography* (Edinburgh and London, Blackwood, 1883), II, 185.

clearly indicating an artificial vogue supported by the publisher, most authors, and the circulating libraries. One wonders why the public tolerated the three-decker as long as it did, paying an exorbitant price for a commodity that at the end of the century came onto the market at six shillings. A novel priced at thirty-one shillings six pence was not exactly inexpensive even in Queen Victoria's day, amounting to about $2.60 per volume or $7.80 for the set.[31] No wonder popular authors "cleaned up" on their literary efforts! In an interview at the end of the century, Mr. Chatto, the publisher, claimed that Disraeli's *Endymion* (1880) reached 15,000 copies at a guinea and a half. Mr. Chatto continued that if Disraeli's book had been published in one-volume form his profits would not have been so great. "Why," said Mr. Chatto, "to have obtained the same result with a six-shilling book 100,000 copies would have had to be sold."[32]

It is likely that very few intelligent authors or readers of the nineteenth century were fooled by the three-volume form of novel publishing. The three-decker was a convention and everyone knew it. Charles Lever recognized this in his novel *Arthur O'Leary* (1844):

> Should the Reader feel—as in reason he may—some chagrin at the abrupt conclusion of this volume, I have only to beg the same indulgence, which I set out by asking, for a memoir so broken and fragmentary. The destiny, which has decided that there should be "*Three* children sliding on the ice"—"*Three*" witches in Macbeth—and "*Three*" angles in a triangle—has also decreed there should be "Three" volumes in a story.[33]

Whenever Thackeray mentioned the three-decker it was usually to satirize the form. Trollope objected to the three-volume con-

[31] That the three-volume novel was a luxury item as early as the eighteen-twenties is shown by a remark of Charles Knight in *Passages of a Working Life* (London, Bradbury & Evans, 1864), I, 276: "For a new work which involved the purchase of copyright, it was the established rule that the wealthy few, to whom price was not a consideration, were alone to be depended upon for the remuneration of the author and the first profit of the publisher."

[32] "A Symposium of Publishers," *P. C.*, LXI (November 10, 1894), 550.

[33] Charles Lever, *Arthur O'Leary* (London, Colburn, 1844), III, 328.

vention, especially the use of wide margins and leading. As early as 1849 the demise of the three-decker was forecast by Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton who said, "I own, however, that I am more and more inclined to think that for great sales the usual three-volume form is wearing out, and think something great might be done by a popular book in a new shape."[34] The Victorians at the end of the century knew very well that the three-decker was artificial. In 1894, when "the three-volume question" became prominent, several voices were heard on the subject of artificiality. The *Publishers' Circular* for August 3, 1894, p. 101, admitted that "There can be no doubt at all that the three-volume form is an artificial mode of publication; . . ." then countered, ". . . but then it would not be hard to prove that fiction itself is artificial, that libraries are artificial, and that in the manner of producing novels an artificial system has been followed to supply an artificial want." One correspondent to the *Publishers' Circular* described publishers' padding in vivid language: ". . . I do protest against the 'whited sepulchres' style of getting up the present-day novels (generally inferior productions), with enormous margins, lines wide enough apart for a cyclist to drive between, and with 'fat' enough to delight the compositor's heart. . . ."[35]

For all practical purposes the three-decker met its end in 1894. If the novels in Michael Sadleir's *XIX Century Fiction*[36] are arranged chronologically in relation to the number of volumes in each title some interesting data emerge as can be seen in Table VI. This table shows a frequency distribution of 2087 novels.[37] Tables V and VI overlap from 1800 to 1820, and the

[34] Mrs. [Margaret] Oliphant, *Annals of a Publishing House: William Blackwood and His Sons* (Edinburgh and London, Blackwood, 1897), II, 420.

[35] "The Three-Volume Novel," *P. C.*, LXI (August 18, 1894), 172.

[36] Michael Sadleir, *XIX Century Fiction* (Los Angeles, California University Press, 1951).

[37] This does not represent all the items in the Sadleir catalogue. An attempt was made to eliminate nonfiction, of which the collection contains a great deal. Since this nonfiction is not always clearly identified, it is probable that more items should have been rejected, especially in the one-volume list.

first thing that strikes the investigator is the usurpation of the field by the three-decker. Its ascendency, as the two tables show, was unequivocal until the end of the century. Then in the 1890's, as Table VI shows, there was a sharp break in the number of three-volume novels published. Table VI further shows the ascendency of the one-volume novel. In the decade beginning 1880, this movement took on an impetus which left no doubt as to the ultimate fate of the three-decker.

Another table of statistics, arrived at by an independent study, corroborates the decline of the three-decker shown in Table VI. In 1910 Joseph Shaylor presented ". . . a record of the issue of three volume novels for fourteen years prior to its extinction, that is from 1884 to 1897." Mr. Shaylor's table is worth reprinting:

[In]	1884	there were published	193 [three-volume novels.]
	1885	" "	193
	1886	" "	184
	1887	" "	184
	1888	" "	165
	1889	" "	169
	1890	" "	160
	1891	" "	162
	1892	" "	156
	1893	" "	168
	1894	" "	184
	1895	" "	52
	1896	" "	25
	1897	" "	4[38]

A veritable furor arose when on June 27, 1894, two circulars addressed to the publishers of England were issued by the circulating libraries of Mudie and W. H. Smith & Son. These powerful lending libraries declared that after six months elapsed they would pay only four shillings a volume. They also de-

[38] Joseph Shaylor, "The Issue of Fiction," *P. C.*, XCIII (October 15, 1910), 566. Mr. Shaylor does not record the source of his statistics.

manded that publishers cease issuing one-volume reprints until twelve months after the date of a novel's first publication.[39]

Articles on this ultimatum soon appeared in various papers and journals. The *Publishers' Circular* took every opportunity to editorialize on the problem and supported the three-volume form of novel publication till the end of 1894, when it began to comment less frequently on the matter. The *Publishers' Circular* after June 30, 1894, is filled with "the three-volume question." Authors, publishers, librarians, readers and circulating libraries joined the fray. The booksellers saw fit to answer the circulars of Mudie and W. H. Smith & Son. On July 16, 1894, the booksellers made a request for "a six-shilling form" of issuing novels. Even the Scottish circulating libraries reacted in a fashion similar to their London counterparts. They too demanded novels "at 4*s*. per volume."[40]

At last the Authors' Society took the matter in hand and on July 23, 1894, condemned the three-decker.[41] Far from ending the hue and cry, this action of the Authors' Society raised more controversy, especially in the editorial columns of the *Publishers' Circular*. But the three-decker was doomed. By the end of the nineteenth century only one-volume novels were being issued. In his survey of publishing, F. A. Mumby summarizes the decline of the three-volume novel as follows:

> With the establishment of the free public libraries, the vogue of the cheap reprint, and the ever-increasing demand for the latest novel, the circulating libraries had to cry 'Halt!' to an artificial fashion which they could no longer afford to encourage. The outcome was the six-shilling novel in one volume. With occasional variations it remained at that price

[39] "The Circulating Libraries and Three-Volume Novels," *P. C.*, LXI (July 7, 1894), 7-8. These circulars are reprinted in full on p. 7 of *P. C.*

[40] "London Booksellers and the Libraries' Circular," *P. C.*, LXI (July 21, 1894), 57.

[41] "The Incorporated Society of Authors and the Three-Volume Novel," *P. C.*, LXI (July 28, 1894), 80-81, and (August 4, 1894), 101.

until after the War of 1914-1918, when it was raised to seven and six pence.[42]

And so the era of the three-decker came to a close. Early in the century the form and price had been established by the popularity of Scott's Waverley novels. For a period of nearly three-quarters of a century, the emoluments received by publishers and authors and circulating libraries sustained this arbitrary form and price. In 1894 the ultimatum delivered by the circulating libraries abolished the three-volume novel.

[42] Frank Arthur Mumby, *Publishing and Bookselling* ["New and Revised Edition"] (London, Cape, 1949), p. 288.

Table I. Lists the authors, titles, publishers and dates of the one hundred five XIXth century three-volume novels considered in this study. In subsequent tables the author is identified by the number which precedes his name in this table.

KEY NO. AUTHOR	TITLE	PUBLISHER	DATE
1. Ainsworth, William Harrison	Crichton	Richard Bentley	1837
2. Austen, Jane	Sense and Sensibility	T. Egerton, Whitehall	1811
3. Aytoun, William Edmondstoune	Norman Sinclair	William Blackwood & Sons	1861
4. Baring-Gould, Sabine	Kitty Alone	Methuen & Co.	1894
5. Barker, Matthew Henry	Topsail-Sheet Blocks	Richard Bentley	1838
6. Barrie, James Matthew	The Little Minister	Cassell & Co.	1891
7. Besant, Walter	The City of Refuge	Chatto & Windus	1896
8. Black, William	White Wings	Macmillan & Co.	1880
9. Blackmore, Richard Doddridge	Perlycross	Sampson Low, Marston & Co.	1894
10. Borrow, George Henry	Lavengro	John Murray	1851
11. Braddon, Mary Elizabeth	Vixen	John and Robert Maxwell	1879
12. Browne, Thomas Alexander	Nevermore	Macmillan & Co.	1892
13. Buchanan, Robert William	Foxglove Manor	Chatto & Windus	1884
14. Bulwer, Edward (Lord Lytton)	Devereux	Henry Colburn	1829
15. Bulwer, Rosina (Lady Lytton)	The Budget of the Bubble Family	Edward Bull	1840
16. Bury, Lady Charlotte (Campbell)	Conduct Is Fate	William Blackwood and T. Cadell	1822
17. Caine, Hall	The Shadow of a Crime	Chatto & Windus	1885
18. Carleton, William	Valentine M'Clutchy, The Irish Agent	James Duffy	1845
19. Chamier, Frederick	The Spitfire	Henry Colburn	1840
20. Clemens, Samuel L. (Mark Twain) and Charles Dudley Warner	The Gilded Age	George Routledge & Sons	1874
21. Cobbold, Richard	Mary Anne Wellington	Henry Colburn	1846
22. Collins, William Wilkie	Basil	Richard Bentley	1852

Table I. Continued

KEY NO.	AUTHOR	TITLE	PUBLISHER	DATE
23.	Craik, Dinah Maria (Mulock)	John Halifax, Gentleman	Hurst & Blackett	1856
24.	Crowe, Catherine Stevens	The Adventures of a Beauty	Colburn & Co.	1852
25.	Cunningham, Allan	Paul Jones	Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green	1826
26.	Dickens, Charles	Oliver Twist	Richard Bentley	1838
27.	Doyle, A. Conan	The White Company	Smith, Elder & Co.	1891
28.	Eliot, George	Romola	Smith, Elder & Co.	1863
29.	Farjeon, Benjamin Leopold	Joshua Marvel	Tinsley Brothers	1871
30.	Ferrier, Susan Edmondstone	Destiny; or, the Chief's Daughter	Robert Cadell	1831
31.	----------	The Inheritance	William Blackwood	1824
32.	Fitzgerald, Percy Hetherington	Never Forgotten	Chapman & Hall	1865
33.	Fothergill, Caroline	Put to the Proof	Richard Bentley & Son	1883
34.	Fraser, James Baillie	The Kuzzilbash	Henry Colburn	1828
35.	Fullerton, Lady Georgiana	Grantley Manor	Edward Moxon	1847
36.	Gaskell, Elizabeth Gleghorn	Ruth	Chapman & Hall	1853
37.	Gilbert, William	The Landlord of 'The Sun'	Richard Bentley & Son	1871
38.	Gissing, George	Born in Exile	Adam and Charles Black	1892
39.	Godwin, William	Fleetwood	Richard Phillips	1805
40.	Gore, Catherine Grace Frances	Self	Henry Colburn	1845
41.	Griffin, Gerald	Talis Qualis	Maxwell & Co.	1842
42.	Guthrie, Thomas Anstey	The Pariah	Smith, Elder & Co.	1889
43.	Haggard, Henry Rider	Colonel Quaritch	Longmans, Green & Co.	1888
44.	Hardy, Thomas	A Pair of Blue Eyes	Tinsley Brothers	1873
45.	----------	Tess of the D'Urbervilles	James R. Osgood, McIlvaine and Co.	1891
46.	Harwood, Isabelle	The Heir Expectant	Hurst and Blackett	1870

Table I. Continued

KEY NO.	AUTHOR	TITLE	PUBLISHER	DATE
47.	Harwood, John Berwick	Young Lord Penrith	Hurst and Blackett	1880
48.	Henty, George Alfred	A Search for a Secret	Tinsley Brothers	1867
49.	Hewlett, Joseph Thomas James	Peter Priggins	Henry Colburn	1841
50.	Hood, Thomas	Tylney Hall	A. H. Baily & Co.	1834
51.	Hook, Theodore Edward	Gilbert Gurney	Whittaker & Co.	1836
52.	Hope, Thomas	Anastasius	John Murray	1819
53.	Howard, Edward Granville	Rattlin, The Reefer	Richard Bentley	1836
54.	Howitt, William	The Man of the People	Hurst & Blackett	1860
55.	Hudson, William Henry	Fan	Chapman & Hall	1892
56.	Hughes, Thomas	Tom Brown at Oxford	Macmillan & Co.	1861
57.	Hunt, Leigh	Sir Ralph Esher	Henry Colburn & Richard Bentley	1832
58.	James, George Payne Rainsford	The Jacquerie	Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans	1841
59.	James, Henry	The Portrait of a Lady	Macmillan & Co.	1882
60.	Jefferies, John Richard	World's End	Tinsley Brothers	1877
61.	Kingsley, Charles	Westward Ho!	Macmillan & Co.	1855
62.	Kingsley, Henry	Ravenshoe	Macmillan & Co.	1862
63.	Lamb, Lady Caroline Ponsonby	Glenarvon	Henry Colburn	1816
64.	Lawrence, George Alfred	Sans Merci	Tinsley Brothers	1866
65.	Lever, Charles James	Arthur O'Leary	Henry Colburn	1844
66.	Lover, Samuel	Rory O'More	Richard Bentley	1837
67.	Maberly, Kate Charlotte (Prittie)	Leonora	Smith, Elder & Co.	1856
68.	Macdonald, George	Sir Gibbie	Hurst & Blackett	1879
69.	Marryat, Frederick	Japhet in Search of a Father	Saunders and Otley	1836
70.	----------	The King's Own	Henry Colburn & Richard Bentley	1830
71.	----------	Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet	Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans	1843

Table I. Continued

KEY NO.	AUTHOR	TITLE	PUBLISHER	DATE
72.	Maturin, Charles Robert	Women, or Pour et Contre	Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown	1818
73.	Meredith, George	The Ordeal of Richard Feverel	Chapman & Hall	1859
74.	Mills, John	The Stage Coach	Henry Colburn	1843
75.	Mitford, Mary Russell	Belford Regis	Richard Bentley	1835
76.	Moore, George	A Modern Lover	Tinsley Brothers	1883
77.	Morgan, Sydney Owenson	The Wild Irish Girl	Richard Phillips	1806
78.	Morier, James Justinian	Abel Allnutt	Richard Bentley	1837
79.	Neale, William Johnson	Will Watch	James Cochrane & Co.	1834
80.	Norton, Caroline Sheridan	The Wife and Woman's Reward	Saunders & Otley	1835
81.	Oliphant, Mrs. Margaret	A Country Gentleman and His Family	Macmillan & Co.	1886
82.	Ouida (Louise de la Ramée)	Signa	Chapman & Hall	1875
83.	Pardoe, Julia	Romance of the Harem	Henry Colburn	1839
84.	Peacock, Thomas Love	Melincourt	T. Hookman, Jun. & Co., *et al.*	1817
85.	Porter, Anna Maria	The Fast of St. Magdalen	Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown	1818
86.	Porter, Jane	Duke Christian of Luneburg	Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown & Green	1824
87.	Power, William Grattan Tyrone	The Lost Heir and The Prediction	Edward Bull	1830
88.	Reade, Charles	Hard Cash	Sampson Low, Son & Marston	1863
89.	----------	A Simpleton	Chapman & Hall	1873
90.	Reid, Thomas Mayne	The Scalp Hunters	Charles J. Skeet	1851
91.	Reynolds, George Wm. McArthur	Robert Macaire in England	Thomas Tegg	1840
92.	Reynolds, Gertrude M.	Keep My Secret	Richard Bentley & Son	1886
93.	Russell, William Clark	The Wreck of the "Grosvenor"	Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington	1877
94.	Scott, Sir Walter	Guy Mannering	Archibald Constable & Co.	1815

Table I. Continued

KEY NO.	AUTHOR	TITLE	PUBLISHER	DATE
95.	Shelley, Mary Wollstonecraft	Frankenstein	Lackington, Hughes, Harding, Mayor & Jones	1818
96.	Smith, Albert Richard	The Fortunes of the Scattergood Family	Richard Bentley	1845
97.	Surtees, Robert Smith	Hillingdon Hall	Henry Colburn	1845
98.	Thackeray, William Makepeace	Henry Esmond	Smith, Elder & Co.	1852
99.	Trollope, Anthony	Barchester Towers	Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts	1857
100.	Trollope, Mrs. Frances	Jessie Phillips	Henry Colburn	1843
101.	[Unknown]	Harold the Exile	Henry Colburn	1819
102.	West, Jane	The Loyalists	Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown	1812
103.	Whitehead, Charles	Richard Savage	Richard Bentley	1844
104.	Whyte-Melville, George John	The Gladiators	Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green	1863
105.	Wood, Mrs. Henry	East Lynne	Richard Bentley	1861

Table II. Shows the total number of words in the book, the number of words in the story text only, and the number of words in miscellaneous items such as preface, chapter headings, tables of contents, etc. "Other" refers to dedications, appendixes, etc. Column 4 (Misc.) is the sum of the columns which follow.

TITLE	No. Words in Book	No. Words in Text	Misc.	Preface	Chap. Heads	Table Conts.	Notes	Other
Abel Allnut (78)	161,836	160,819	1017	270	747			
Adventures of a Beauty (24)	167,631	167,631						
Anastasius (52)	279,585	273,966	5619	402			5217	
Arthur O'Leary (65)	179,917	179,611	306		116	64	126	
Barchester Towers (99)	199,494	198,738	756		291	465		
Basil (22)	128,001	125,613	2388					2388
Belford Regis (75)	187,229	186,345	884	546	109	158		71
Born in Exile (38)	159,608	159,608						
Budget of the Bubble Family (15)	236,111	232,656	3455	324	2682			449
City of Refuge (7)	104,558	104,159	399	171	71	157		
Colonel Quaritch (43)	220,079	119,604	475		182	277		76
Conduct is Fate (16)	171,316	169,698	1618		1618			
Country Gentleman and Family (81)	198,796	198,796						
Crichton (1)	182,106	172,171	9935	5715	1443	350		2427
Destiny (30)	201,867	201,867						
Devereux (14)	179,909	177,917	1992	435	832		725	
Duke Christian (86)	177,391	173,541	3850	684			464	2702
East Lynne (105)	252,091	251,866	225	225				
Fan (55)	182,773	182,773						
Fast of St. Magdalen (85)	148,757	148,757						
Fleetwood (39)	137,060	136,136	924		924			

Table II. Continued

TITLE	No. Words in Book	No. Words in Text	Misc.	Preface	Chap. Heads	Table Conts.	Notes	Other
Fortunes of Scattergood Family (96)	162,470	161,816	654		524	115		15
Foxglove Manor (13)	98,304	97,845	459	82	137	240		
Frankenstein (95)	72,626	67,150	5476	570				4906
Gilbert Gurney (51)	179,405	179,304	101	101				
Gilded Age (20)	167,147	163,951	3196	865	2235			96
Gladiators (104)	184,260	183,744	516		160	356		
Glenarvon (63)	151,211	151,211						
Grantley Manor (35)	133,329	133,329						
Guy Mannering (94)	167,802	160,793	2009		2009			
Hard Cash (88)	268,103	260,498	7605	252				7353
Harold the Exile (101)	125,515	125,515						
Heir Expectant (46)	162,433	162,025	408		148	260		
Henry Esmond (98)	189,361	186,153	3208	2157	398	536		117
Hillingdon Hall (97)	168,733	167,660	1073		1073			
Inheritance (31)	199,949	197,018	2931		2931			
Jacquerie (58)	170,493	168,227	2266	1273			993	
Japhet in Search of a Father (69)	146,870	144,857	2013		1829	184		
Jessie Phillips (100)	190,061	188,164	1897		1745	152		
John Halifax, Gentleman (23)	184,350	184,350						
Joshua Marvel (29)	197,162	196,636	526		211	315		
Keep My Secret (92)	104,338	103,981	357		123	234		
King's Own (70)	149,675	147,791	1884		1884			
Kitty Alone (4)	123,685	123,264	421		148	273		
Kuzzilbash (34)	240,987	238,876	2111	1918	193			

Table II. Continued

TITLE	No. Words in Book	No. Words in Text	Misc.	Preface	Chap. Heads	Table Conts.	Notes	Other
Landlord of 'The Sun' (37)	196,158	196,039	119		119			
Lavengro (10)	232,235	227,989	4246	1422	2824			
Leonora (67)	138,015	137,971	44	44				
Little Minister (6)	114,896	114,110	786		320	466		
Lost Heir (87)	178,872	177,970	902		902			
Loyalists (102)	148,316	144,243	4073	2949	1124			
Man of the People (54)	158,323	158,323						
Mary Anne Wellington (21)	144,282	143,842	440	212	89			139
Melincourt (84)	89,441	89,135	306		109	197		
Modern Lover (76)	119,324	119,085	239		79	160		
Never Forgotten (32)	176,289	176,276	13					13
Nevermore (12)	122,151	122,151						
Norman Sinclair (3)	238,816	238,229	587		221	366		
Oliver Twist (26)	161,703	160,746	957		747			210
Ordeal of Richard Feverel (73)	196,046	195,358	688		267	421		
Pair of Blue Eyes (44)	131,719	131,061	658		238	336		84
Pariah (42)	232,103	230,639	1464		1139	325		
Paul Jones (25)	285,289	284,178	1111		1111			
Perlycross (9)	183,461	183,141	320		106	214		
Peter Priggins (49)	185,467	185,268	199	122		77		
Portrait of a Lady (59)	223,165	223,165						
Put to the Proof (33)	91,524	90,687	837		837			
Rattlin, The Reefer (53)	168,140	163,022	5118	90	2358	2598		72
Ravenshoe (62)	227,886	226,787	1099	130	368	578		23
Richard Savage (103)	202,543	201,714	829		829			

Table II. Continued

TITLE	No. Words in Book	No. Words in Text	Misc.	Preface	Chap. Heads	Table Conts.	Notes	Other
Robert Macaire in England (91)	172,358	172,153	205		147			58
Romance of the Harem (83)	171,451	170,786	665	344	226	95		
Romola (28)	230,879	227,084	3795	3150	231	414		
Rory O'More (66)	151,724	150,875	849		775			74
Ruth (36)	162,362	162,362						
Sans Merci (64)	154,011	153,611	400		130	270		
Scalp Hunters (90)	124,308	109,970	14,338	515	180		13,643	
Search for a Secret (48)	171,487	171,093	394		125	269		
Self (40)	185,408	182,866	2542	810	1732			
Sense and Sensibility (2)	120,686	120,686						
Shadow of a Crime (17)	124,662	123,551	1111	520	285	306		
Signa (82)	207,832	207,832						
Simpleton (89)	128,572	127,917	655	655				
Sir Gibbie (68)	189,558	189,427	131		131			
Sir Ralph Esher (57)	220,182	214,100	6082	6082				
Spitfire (19)	170,828	170,828						
Stage Coach (74)	130,591	130,081	510	289	135	62		24
Talis Qualis (41)	172,693	171,494	1199	350	732	117		
Tess of the D'Urbervilles (45)	151,297	151,033	264		20	79	165	
Tom Brown at Oxford (56)	243,309	242,043	1266	757	176	304		29
Topsail-Sheet Blocks (5)	194,033	193,210	823	103	690			30
Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet (71)	152,452	151,995	457	457				
Tylney Hall (50)	166,363	160,303	6060	2735	3112			213
Valentine M'Clutchy (18)	212,382	210,214	2168	1243	925			

Table II. Continued

TITLE	No. Words in Book	No. Words in Text	Misc.	Preface	Chap. Heads	Table Conts.	Notes	Other
Vixen (11)	192,722	192,201	521		203	318		
Westward Ho! (61)	248,621	246,734	1887		1400	371		116
White Company (27)	154,692	153,931	761		316	418		27
White Wings (8)	145,970	145,497	473		142	293		38
Wife and Woman's Reward (80)	126,938	125,623	1315		1315			
Wild Irish Girl (77)	112,119	96,333	15,786	3403			12,383	
Will Watch (79)	221,791	212,046	9745	160				9585
Women (72)	149,687	148,782	905	316	501			88
World's End (60)	125,553	125,553						
Wreck of the "Grosvenor" (93)	125,741	125,741						
Young Lord Penrith (47)	105,179	105,023	156	156				

Table III. Showing the number of chapters and pages in the one hundred five three-deckers, the average number of lines and words per page, the size of the book page and the type page in millimeters, the size of the type and the amount of lead between lines in terms of points, and the number of illustrations.

TITLE	Number of		Av. per p.		Size of page		Type		No.
	Chps.	Pages	Lines	Words	Book	Type	Pts.	Lead	Illus.
Abel Allnut (78)	60	936	24	182	133 x 200	72 x 125	10	5.1	
Adventures of a Beauty (24)	70	901	26	199	124 x 195	77 x 134	10	4.8	
Anastasius (52)	48	1224	27	232	127 x 193	75 x 124	10	3.1	
Arthur O'Leary (65)	34	937	25	197	120 x 190	76 x 130	10	5.0	10
Barchester Towers (99)	53	925	26	223	122 x 195	81 x 132	10	5.0	
Basil (22)	33	904	21	150	123 x 195	71 x 125	11	7.0	
Belford Regis (75)	31	983	25	191	123 x 200	73 x 127	10	5.2	
Born in Exile (38)	29	829	24	205	138 x 198	60 x 137	10	6.5	
Budget of the Bubble Family (15)	30	1100	28	217	122 x 200	72 x 130	10	3.2	5
City of Refuge (7)	25	675	22	159	133 x 186	81 x 131	12	5.1	
Colonel Quaritch (43)	45	771	23	167	124 x 190	81 x 144	12	6.1	
Conduct is Fate (16)	54	965	24	187	112 x 187	71 x 120	10	6.1	
Country Gentleman (81)	52	711	25	256	127 x 187	85 x 148	10	6.5	
Crichton (1)	36	1184	23	157	123 x 191	71 x 130	10	6.3	
Destiny (30)	99	1137	24	189	117 x 193	72 x 122	10	4.5	
Devereux (14)	59	953	24	197	125 x 200	77 x 131	10	3.3	
Duke Christian (86)	61	1149	24	157	114 x 174	72 x 126	12	3.0	
East Lynne (105)	62	947	33	279	118 x 190	80 x 144	10	2.4	

Table III. Continued

TITLE	Number of		Av. per p.		Size of page		Type		No.
	Chps.	Pages	Lines	Words	Book	Type	Pts.	Lead	Illus.
Fan (55)	48	900	27	210	128 x 191	81 x 135	12	2.3	
Feast of St. Magdalen (85)	30	1010	24	151	117 x 183	71 x 124	12	4.8	
Fleetwood (39)	54	945	23	151	103 x 181	67 x 120	11	4.0	
Fortunes of Scattergood Family (96)	64	938	24	181	122 x 202	72 x 129	10	5.5	14
Foxglove Manor (13)	40	772	21	132	124 x 183	73 x 132	12	6.3	
Frankenstein (95)	23	529	22	142	112 x 175	70 x 113	12	3.0	
Gilbert Gurney (51)	19	1036	23	175	120 x 190	77 x 130	10	6.3	
Gilded Age (20)	63	771	30	224	117 x 176	81 x 142	11	2.5	90
Gladiators (104)	60	920	26	212	127 x 188	77 x 136	10	5.0	
Glenarvon (63)	106	1001	24	163	110 x 190	72 x 123	12	3.0	
Grantley Manor (35)	22	828	20	164	120 x 198	77 x 126	10	7.3	
Guy Mannering (94)	56	1039	24	166	100 x 173	75 x 127	12	2.5	
Hard Cash (88)	56	1090	30	250	123 x 195	81 x 142	10	3.5	
Harold the Exile (101)	44	917	24	139	112 x 192	72 x 125	12	3.0	
Heir Expectant (46)	45	975	25	193	123 x 189	76 x 134	10	5.5	
Henry Esmond (98)	42	959	25	201	126 x 190	81 x 132	11	4.0	
Hillingdon Hall (97)	47	932	25	189	117 x 190	77 x 130	10	5.4	
Inheritance (31)	106	1161	25	197	121 x 198	78 x 127	10	4.6	
Jacquerie (58)	41	912	24	192	117 x 195	72 x 126	10	5.0	
Japhet, in Search of a Father (69)	79	922	22	172	120 x 195	72 x 125	10	6.3	
Jessie Phillips (100)	56	962	26	207	120 x 192	80 x 136	11	4.0	12

Table III. Continued

TITLE	Number of		Av. per p.		Size of page		Type		No.
	Chps.	Pages	Lines	Words	Book	Type	Pts.	Lead	Illus.
John Halifax, Gentleman (23)	40	963	27	198	115 x 190	77 x 152	11	3.1	
Joshua Marvel (29)	42	948	26	215	125 x 191	76 x 135	10	5.0	
Keep My Secret (92)	35	746	21	144	123 x 185	77 x 132	12	6.2	
King's Own (70)	60	976	22	162	118 x 192	72 x 125	10	6.4	
Kitty Alone (4)	54	525	29	254	127 x 190	85 x 140	10	3.9	
Kuzzilbash (34)	54	1029	29	242	115 x 190	77 x 133	10	4.8	
Landlord of 'The Sun' (37)	37	945	28	214	119 x 179	85 x 128	12	1.1	
Lavengro (10)	100	1172	24	202	125 x 195	76 x 135	10	6.2	
Leonora (67)	49	843	22	171	120 x 180	80 x 138	12	6.0	
Little Minister (6)	45	703	22	169	125 x 190	85 x 127	11	5.6	
Lost Heir (87)	37	932	26	198	120 x 195	73 x 121	10	3.3	
Loyalists (102)	27	1020	23	148	150 x 177	68 x 119	11	3.7	
Man of the People (54)	38	1017	22	161	115 x 183	76 x 129	12	5.0	
Mary Anne Wellington (21)	37	831	22	182	124 x 203	76 x 125	10	6.4	8
Melincourt (84)	42	648	20	139	98 x 177	68 x 113	10	6.3	
Modern Lover (76)	36	701	24	176	125 x 190	81 x 125	12	3.0	
Never Forgotten (32)	89	998	26	213	125 x 196	77 x 135	10	5.5	
Nevermore (12)	24	730	23	171	122 x 182	81 x 135	12	5.0	
Norman Sinclair (3)	62	978	30	255	125 x 200	80 x 141	10	3.4	
Oliver Twist (26)	51	953	24	178	120 x 194	72 x 128	10	5.5	24

Table III. Continued

TITLE	Number of		Av. per p.		Size of page		Type		No.
	Chps.	Pages	Lines	Words	Book	Type	Pts.	Lead	Illus.
Ordeal of Richard Feverel (73)	49	1046	25	193	122 x 198	80 x 140	12	4.0	
Pair of Blue Eyes (44)	40	876	23	155	125 x 190	76 x 135	12	5.0	
Pariah (42)	50	881	30	269	122 x 190	84 x 142	10	3.6	
Paul Jones (25)	36	1123	30	261	125 x 195	76 x 131	10	3.0	
Perlycross (9)	44	868	28	227	115 x 180	85 x 138	12	2.0	
Peter Priggins (49)	21	1000	24	189	123 x 203	71 x 125	10	5.0	12
Portrait of a Lady (59)	55	767	31	306	125 x 190	89 x 137	10	2.7	
Put to the Proof (33)	38	700	20	136	120 x 183	77 x 126	12	5.8	
Rattlin, The Reefer (53)	73	945	24	188	120 x 197	72 x 127	10	5.2	9
Ravenshoe (62)	66	863	28	250	125 x 189	85 x 137	10	3.6	
Richard Savage (103)	34	1008	28	205	115 x 185	72 x 132	10	3.5	18
Robert Macaire in England (91)	49	993	24	181	120 x 198	72 x 125	10	5.0	18
Romance of the Harem (83)	71	933	25	197	123 x 200	72 x 123	10	4.8	
Romola (28)	72	961	29	255	117 x 190	80 x 135	10	3.1	
Rory O'More (66)	47	915	23	172	120 x 196	72 x 128	10	6.1	
Ruth (36)	36	937	21	178	125 x 198	75 x 133	10	8.5	
Sans Merci (64)	44	878	23	182	122 x 190	78 x 136	10	6.4	
Scalp Hunters (90)	57	844	22	153	125 x 198	75 x 122	12	3.6	
Search for a Secret (48)	41	830	28	215	127 x 189	80 x 138	12	2.0	

Table III. Continued

TITLE	Number of		Av. per p.		Size of page		Type		No.
	Chps.	Pages	Lines	Words	Book	Type	Pts.	Lead	Illus.
Self (40)	32	1081	24	176	122 x 197	72 x 129	10	5.4	
Sense and Sensibility (2)	51	878	23	144	113 x 170	68 x 120	12	5.0	
Shadow of a Crime (17)	51	891	20	145	124 x 186	80 x 132	12	7.0	
Signa (82)	58	1103	24	197	127 x 187	76 x 128	10	4.6	
Simpleton (89)	29	844	23	156	124 x 183	77 x 132	11	5.5	
Sir Gibbie (68)	62	954	25	210	125 x 190	77 x 134	10	5.4	
Sir Ralph Esher (57)	35	965	26	226	122 x 197	77 x 131	10	3.3	
Spitfire (19)	48	963	24	186	120 x 192	73 x 129	10	5.3	
Stage Coach (74)	45	860	22	159	124 x 205	76 x 126	12	4.5	
Talis Qualis (41)	25	974	21	182	110 x 180	75 x 119	10	5.5	
Tess of the D'Urbervilles (45)	59	803	25	200	125 x 190	81 x 132	11	4.3	
Tom Brown at Oxford (56)	51	966	29	259	126 x 189	85 x 136	10	3.5	
Topsail-Sheet Blocks (5)	19	967	28	204	112 x 185	72 x 131	10	3.3	
Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet (71)	44	929	22	168	120 x 197	72 x 124	10	5.8	1
Tylney Hall (50)	42	907	23	186	120 x 195	76 x 130	10	6.2	
Valentine M'Clutchy (18)	31	954	26	227	120 x 189	80 x 140	10	5.6	
Vixen (11)	45	1019	23	182	125 x 186	86 x 131	10	6.4	
Westward Ho! (61)	33	1032	28	256	122 x 192	84 x 131	10	3.4	
White Company (27)	38	890	23	179	125 x 183	80 x 133	12	4.5	

Table III. Continued

TITLE	Number of		Av. per p.		Size of page		Type		No.
	Chps.	Pages	Lines	Words	Book	Type	Pts.	Lead	Illus.
White Wings (8)	49	861	23	176	127 x 183	85 x 128	12	4.1	
Wife and Woman's Reward (80)	46	915	20	145	122 x 195	72 x 126	10	6.0	
Wild Irish Girl (77)	31	789	22	140	100 x 171	66 x 114	12	3.0	
Will Watch (79)	32	1028	24	189	120 x 193	76 x 130	10	6.4	
Women (72)	34	959	23	161	102 x 166	76 x 117	12	4.8	
World's End (60)	44	816	23	160	123 x 189	76 x 128	11	5.0	
Wreck of the "Grosvenor" (93)	31	875	21	147	124 x 190	81 x 131	12	6.0	
Young Lord Penrith (47)	52	868	19	130	123 x 189	77 x 132	12	8.3	

Table IV. Compares eleven three-deckers with their corresponding one-volume editions.

A. The following 11 one-volume editions were used for this comparison:

Ainsworth, William Henry. *Crichton*. London, Chapman and Hall, 1849.

Carleton, William. *Valentine M'Clutchy*. Dublin, James Duffy, 1848.

Clemens, Samuel L. (Mark Twain) and Charles Dudley Warner. *The Gilded Age*. Hartford, American Publishing Company, 1873.

Dickens, Charles. *Oliver Twist*. London, Chapman and Hall, 1853.

Ferrier, Susan Edmondstone. *Destiny*. London, Richard Bentley (Standard Novels. No. LXXXV), 1841.

Hardy, Thomas. *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. London and New York, Harper & Brothers, 1898.

Lever, Charles. *Arthur O'Leary*. London, Henry Colburn, 1845.

Marryat, Frederick. *Japhet in Search of a Father*. New York, Wallis & Newell (Franklin Library Edition), 1836.

———. *Travels and Adventures of Monsieur Violet*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1843.

Reade, Charles. *Hard Cash*. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1872.

Trollope, Mrs. Frances. *Jessie Phillips*. London, Henry Colburn, 1844.

B. A comparison of eleven three-decker [illegible] each, the number of chapters and pages, the average number of lines and words per page, the size of the book and type page, the percentage of the book page used for margins,* the size of the type and the amount of lead, and the number of illustrations. In each case the three-decker is given first.

		Number of Words in Book	Text	Misc.	No. of Chps.	pp.	Av. Per p. lls.	wds.	Size of Page in mm. Book	Type	% Mar.	Type Pts.	Lead	No. Illus.
1844	Arthur O'Leary (65)	179,917	179,611	306	34	937	25	197	120 x 190	76 x 130	.56	10	5.0	10
1849		179,913	179,611	302	34	364	48	503	140 x 220	102 x 178	.41	10	0.5	10
1837	Crichton (1)	182,106	172,171	9935	36	1184	23	157	123 x 191	71 x 130	.61	10	6.3	
1849		176,051	166,275	9782	34	338	48	467	145 x 241	98 x 173	.51	10	0.0	18
1831	Destiny (30)	201,867	201,867		99	1137	24	189	117 x 193	72 x 122	.61	10	4.5	
1841		205,881	202,844	3037	30	428	49	501	115 x 170	79 x 139	.43	7	0.8	1
1874	Gilded Age (20)	167,147	163,951	3196	63	771	30	224	117 x 176	81 x 142	.44	11	2.5	90
1873		173,166	163,951	6019	63	574	37	286	142 x 220	95 x 161	.51	10	2.3	212
1863	Hard Cash (88)	268,103	260,498	7605	56	1090	30	250	123 x 195	81 x 142	.52	10	3.5	
1872		268,103	260,498	7605	59	260	72	1133	147 x 233	116 x 200	.32	7	1.0	
1836	Japhet (69)	146,870	144,857	2013	79	922	22	172	120 x 195	72 x 125	.61	10	6.3	
1836		147,249	147,249		19	217	57	689	115 x 192	85 x 147	.43	7	0.0	
1843	Jessie Phillips (100)	190,061	188,164	1897	56	962	26	207	120 x 192	80 x 136	.52	11	4.0	12
1844		191,811	188,164	3647	56	352	49	538	140 x 220	98 x 120	.45	9	0.8	12
1843	Monsieur Violet (71)	152,452	151,995	457	44	929	22	168	120 x 197	72 x 124	.61	10	5.8	2
1843		152,452	151,995	457	44	131	74	1163	140 x 230	115 x 198	.29	7	0.6	1
1838	Oliver Twist (26)	161,703	160,746	957	51	953	24	178	120 x 194	72 x 128	.60	10	5.5	24
1853		163,525	160,746	2779	53	291	50	552	120 x 182	90 x 147	.39	7	1.3	1
1891	Tess D'Urber. (45)	151,297	151,033	264	59	803	25	200	125 x 190	81 x 132	.55	11	4.3	
1898		152,623	151,033	1590	59	504	37	325	135 x 200	80 x 136	.59	10	0.3	3
1845	Val. M'Clutchy (18)	212,382	210,214	2168	31	954	26	227	120 x 189	80 x 140	.49	10	5.6	
1845		212,260	210,214	2046	31	468	41	445	135 x 218	96 x 166	.45	9	1.5	20

* Margins are measured from the edge of the type page to the edge of the book page not considering the running title at the top of the page or the catchword or signature at the bottom.

Table V. Shows a distribution of Dorothy Blakey's "Chronological List of Novels" published by the Minerva Press, by year and by the number of volumes per title.

Date	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Total
1775-1779		3						3
1780-1784	11	5		1				17
1785-1789	7	44	18	4	1			74
1790-1794	3	61	20	7	2			93
1795-1799	6	53	32	28	1		1	121
1800-1804	7	51	46	32				136
1805-1809	4	29	34	27	6	1		101
1810-1814	5	16	31	38	8	1		99
1815-1820	2	16	42	36	13			109
TOTALS	45	278	223	173	31	2	1	753

Table VI. Shows a distribution of the novels in the Sadleir Collection of XIXth century fiction by year and by the number of volumes per title.

Date	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	Seven	Total
1800-1809	5	1	6	3	1			16
1810-1819	5	1	9	4	1			20
1820-1829	28	10	51	7	1			97
1830-1839	42	33	137	2				214
1840-1849	75	36	159	5		1		276
1850-1859	91	30	110	2				233
1860-1869	81	46	163	1	1			292
1870-1879	72	38	167	6				283
1880-1889	131	52	165					348
1890-1899	181	34	93					308
TOTALS	711	281	1060	30	4	1	0	2087

Literary Research and Bibliographical Training

By Curt F. Bühler

IT appears both strange and unhappy that, despite the tremendous progress made in bibliographical knowledge and practices since the middle of the last century, it should still be necessary to plead for a greater understanding, by the practitioners of sister disciplines, of the functions and possibilities in the study of books *per se*. It would seem self-evident to some of us that an acquaintanceship with bibliographical methods was a necessity for the literary student even as a knowledge of palaeography or handwriting must be for the historian, at least for the student of original documents. This is not to argue that every investigator of literary material should be equipped with the full panoply of bibliographical technique or that it be necessary for such a scholar to have mastered the intricacies of the *Principles of Bibliographical Description* so brilliantly set forth by Professor Fredson Bowers.[1] But one should at least expect that those scholars who conduct investigations in the history of literature would know a good deal about the book as the "material vehicle of the living word."[2] In short, and as a minimum requirement, a literary investigator ought to have some knowledge of the works listing the editions pertinent to his research and should know in what bibliographies to seek information covering the field of his interest. Unfortunately, this does not always seem to be the case. Two articles—excellent in themselves, but not so complete and accurate as they might have been if the proper bibliographical

[1] Princeton University Press, 1949.

[2] [Sir] Walter W. Greg, "Bibliography—a Retrospect," *The Bibliographical Society, 1892-1942, Studies in Retrospect* (London, 1945), p. 27.

tools had been employed—illustrate the point I wish to make; these are found in the current number of *Medievalia et Humanistica* (Volume XI, 1957).

I

In his article "The Manuscript Tradition of the *De vita et moribus philosophorum* of Walter Burley" (pp. 44-57), Mr. John O. Stigall includes, as Appendix II, a list of early printed editions of his text. Selecting only the items listed as incunabula from this list, we obtain the following twenty entries:

1. Köln: Ulrich Zell, c. 1470
2. — G. B., 1472
3. Köln: Arnold ter Hoernen, 1472[3]
4. Köln: Printer of the "Flores Sancti Augustini," 1473
5. Köln: Conrad de Homborch, 1475
6. — G. B., 1477 (?)
7. — W. B., 1477
8. Louvain: Johannes de Westfalia, c. 1477
9. Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 1477
10. Nürnberg: Friedrich Creussner, 1479
11. Louvain: Johann de Paderborn, 1479-82
12. Köln: Konrad Winters de Homborch, 1479
13. — G. B., 1479
14. Toulouse: J. Parix, c. 1480
15. Speier: Johann and Conrad Hist, 1483
16. Köln: Johann Koelhoff, the Elder, c. 1486
17. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 1490 [in German]
18. France: ——, 1495
19. Paris: Georg Mittelhaus, 1496[4]
20. Eustadt: Reyser, [without date]

On the one hand, the compiler does not explain whence he

[3] Apparently as the result of a misprint, Mr. Stigall gives the name as Arnold ter Hoeren. For this printer, see Ernst Voulliéme, *Die deutschen Drucker des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 42-43.

[4] This printer, an Alsatian, usually signed his name Mittelhus, occasionally Mittelhuss. Compare Konrad Haebler, *Die deutschen Buchdrucker des XV. Jahrhunderts im Auslande* (München, 1924), pp. 191-192, and Anatole Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France* (Paris, 1900-1914), II, 5-12.

obtained his list; on the other, the standard bibliography of incunabula (the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*)[5] lists a total of only thirteen such editions. Let us consider Mr. Stigall's entries seriatim.

No. 1: this is GW 5781. No. 2: no printer with the initials G. B. used in a colophon and no printer identifiable only by these initials is known to me. Konrad Burger knew of two printers identified by these initials in the reverse order (B. G.—Bartholomaeus Girardinus of Venice and Bartholomaeus Guldinbeck of Rome), neither of whom published an edition of the *De vita et moribus philosophorum*.[6] This entry quite baffled me until I turned to the old "general catalogue" of the British Museum, where several editions of the work are briefly listed under Burleus, Gualterus as "[By G. B.]". This seems to be the ultimate source for the entry in Mr. Stigall's list. The G. B., of course, stands for the author and not for the printer. The British Museum's press-mark (C. 14. b. 7/2) indicates that this edition corresponds to GW 5785 and the book should be assigned thus: [Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, c. 1472].[7] No. 3 = GW 5783. No. 4 = GW 5784. No. 5 = GW 5782. No. 6: see also remarks under no. 2. The incipit, according to the BM general catalogue, suggests that this edition is the same as no. 8 (see GW 5788). No. 7: no printer W. B. (or B., W.) is listed by Burger. This entry too seems to stem from the old BM catalogue, where the incipit suggests that this is the same as no. 9, the only one dated 1477. The W. B., of course, represents Walterus Burlaeus (or Walter Burley). No. 8 = GW 5788. No. 9 = GW 5786. No. 10 = GW 5787. No. 11: this is the same edition as the one listed under no. 8.[8] No

[5] Leipzig, 1925-1938, V, 681-689, nos. 5781-93.

[6] *The Printers and Publishers of the XV. Century with Lists of their Works*, (London, 1902), p. 32.

[7] *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum* (BMC), (London, 1908-1949), II:411 (IB. 7140).

[8] John of Westphalia was a native of Paderborn and was known both as Johannes de Westfalia and as Johannes de Paderborn. Two editions were listed by Marinus F. A. G. Campbell, *Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au XV^e siècle* (La Haye,

12: this is the identical edition as that listed under no. 5.[9] No. 13: see also remarks under no. 2. The incipit as cited by the BM general catalogue indicates that this is the same edition as no. 10, the only one dated 1479 (compare GW 5787). No. 14 = GW 5789. No. 15 = GW 5790. No. 16 = GW 5791. No. 17 = GW 5793. Nos. 18 and 19: the *Gesamtkatalog* asserts that no edition was printed in France before the sixteenth century.[10] Accordingly, these two editions should be dated *post* 1500. No. 20: noted by Mr. Stigall on p. 57 as "printed by *Reyser* at Eustadt, but without date." Apparently, this entry comes from Hain 4117[11] or Brunet I:1407[12] (both assign the edition to: Eustadii, Reyser). The press of Michael Reyser at Eichstätt is not known to have produced such a work.[13] Hain 4117, according to GW 5790, corresponds to no. 15. One edition not listed by Mr. Stigall is described by the *Gesamtkatalog* under no. 5792.[14]

In revised form, and with the usual practice of placing all inferred information into square brackets, the fifteenth-century

1874), p. 106, nos. 387 and 388, though no. 387 has since been rejected as a separate edition by several authorities (cf. Maria E. Kronenberg, *Campbell's Annales de la typographie néerlandaise au XV^e siècle, Contributions to a new Edition* (The Hague, 1956), p. 71).

[9] GW 5782 is signed by "Conradus de Homborch," who is identical with Konrad Winters de Homborch (see Voulliéme, *op. cit.*, p. 48). Only one edition of Burley's *De vita et moribus philosophorum* is credited to his press by the standard bibliography of Cologne incunabula (Ernst Voulliéme, *Der Buchdruck Kölns bis zum Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Bonn, 1903), p. 135, no. 297).

[10] Compare GW V:col. 688. Four editions are here relegated to the sixteenth century which were listed as incunabula by Marie Pellechet, *Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1897-1909), nos. 3089 and 3091-93. Some of these also appear in Mr. Stigall's list of XVIc editions, although there may well be some duplication here. Thus, Joh. Parvus (Jean Petit) printed an edition of which some copies have the device of De Marnef as publisher. The two editions credited to Mittelhus may also represent a single original, since no incunable edition by him is known.

[11] Ludwig Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum* (Stuttgart, 1826-1838).

[12] Jacques-Charles Brunet, *Manuel du libraire et de l'amateur de livres* (Paris, 1860-1880).

[13] See Voulliéme, *Die deutschen Drucker*, p. 58, and Burger, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

[14] Listed as: [Südliche Niederlande? Drucker der Mensa philosophica (Hain 11076), um 1486/90].

editions of the *De vita et moribus philosophorum* may be chronologically listed thus:

GW	Imprint	Stigall
5781	[Köln: Ulrich Zell, c. 1470]	1
5783	[Köln]: Arnold ter Hoernen, 1472	3
5785	[Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, c. 1472]	2
5784	[Köln: Printer of Flores S. Augustini, n.a. 1473]	4
5786	Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 6 May 1477	7,9
5782	[Köln]: Konrad Winters, [a. 18 Mar. 1479]	5,12
5787	Nürnberg: Friedrich Creussner, 30 June 1479	10,13
5788	Louvain: Johann de Paderborn, [c. 1479/82]	6,8,11
5789	[Toulouse: Johann Parix, c. 1480]	14
5790	[Speier]: Johann and Conrad Hist, [c. 1483]	15,20
5791	[Köln: Johann Koelhoff, the Elder, c. 1486]	16
5792	[Belgium: Printer of Mensa philosophica, 1486/90]	-
5793	Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 31 August 1490. [German]	17

II

The article by Mr. John N. Hough, "Plautus, Student of Cicero, and Walter Burley," follows next in the journal (pp. 58-68). In the course of his analysis, Mr. Hough cites the *Mer des histoires*, quoting from the edition printed at Lyons by Jean Dupré in 1491. He there observes that this work was certainly descended from Burley's treatise but that, in regard to the added material, "*La Mer* evidently expanded at whim. Whether these are original or not is not possible to determine, but some are certainly Gallic in nature."[15] It should have been relatively easy to determine the true extent and the exact nature of the expansions.

Such reference books as the BMC,[16] Polain,[17] Oates,[18] and

[15] P. 61, note 18.

[16] In the comment on the first edition (VIII:109), it is stated that "Le Rouge had before him the editio princeps of the Rudimentum nouitiorum . . . but decorated his own book more effectively." Compare also the note in Robert Proctor, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum* (London, 1898-1903), p. 579, no. 8092.

others[19] plainly state that the *Mer des histoires* is an adaptation of a work first published in Northern Germany,[20] the *Rudimentum novitiorum* printed by Lucas Brandis at Lübeck on 5 August 1475. The first edition of the French text was issued in Paris from the press of Pierre Le Rouge in 1488. In the prefatory matter, the author himself states:

> Par quoy en ce present liure qui peult estre nomme La fleur ou la mer des histoires: & en latin est appelle Rudimentum nouiciorum | Cest adire en francois le Rudiment des nouices | ou lenseignement des nouueaulx. Nous raconterons par ordre. de degre en degre la greigneur partie des hystoires & des grandes choses dignes de memoire | qui sont aduenues depuis la creation du monde iusques a present.

Thus it would have been possible to determine exactly the part contributed by the French compiler through a comparison of copies of the two editions,[21] such as are to be found, for example, in the library with which the present writer is connected.[22]

---

[17] M.-Louis Polain, *Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1932), III, 169-171, no. 2673, and 640-642, no. 3404.

[18] J. C. T. Oates, *A Catalogue of the Fifteenth-Century Printed Books in the University Library Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 504, no. 3007, and p. 538, no. 3207.

[19] Margaret B. Stillwell, *Incunabula in American Libraries* (New York, 1940), p. 439; [Sir Henry Thomas], *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in France and of French Books Printed in Other Countries from 1470 to 1600 now in the British Museum* (London, 1924), p. 83; Alfred W. Pollard, *Early Illustrated Books* (London, 1893), p. 162; etc.

[20] It is interesting to recall Mr. Stigall's comment (p. 50) to the effect that "no MSS of the *De vita* have as yet been traced in north Germany." Burley's treatise was, in any case, known there. Similarly, Mr. Stigall (p. 49) knew of only one manuscript (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O. 2. 50) of English origin though written in a Flemish hand (in his catalogue, Dr. Montague Rhodes James merely states "clearly written, perhaps in Flanders"), and not a single English edition of the Latin text is listed by the *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640* (London, 1926). Nevertheless, so fastidious a scholar as Sir Thomas Elyot (1490?-1546) knew and quoted Burley's work; on this point, see my note "Diogenes and *The Boke named The Governour*," *Modern Language Notes*, LXIX (1954), 481-484.

[21] The French sentences cited at the foot of p. 61 and in note 21 (p. 62) have no counterparts in the *Rudimentum novitiorum*.

Mr. Hough also makes the following observation in connection with the account of Plautus (pp. 67-68):

> *La Mer* offers still another, perhaps supplementary, hint as to the origin of the connection [of Plautus] with Cicero. The entry following *Plautus* in *La Mer* is: Plaucius armacius disciple de Ciceron fut grand orateur, etc. and notes his foundation of Lyons (with pardonable Gallic addition of explanation as to why *Gallia comata* is so called). This is identical with Burley (ch. 100, only two "lives" totalling six lines intervene between this and Plautus, ch. 103).

The *Mer des histoires* is here simply following the arrangement in the *Rudimentum novitiorum* (f. 270), where "Plaucius armacius" (in the identical words as in Burley)[23] follows Plautus and is separated from it by this short passage not found at this place in the French text: "Item hoc anno. plaucius apud tharentum. seipsum interfecit."

Still another bibliographical handbook might have suggested a further additional note of considerable interest.[24] Although not a single printed edition of the *De vita et moribus philosophorum* was produced by Italian presses in the fifteenth century, the work was not without influence on Italian literary history. As I pointed out in the reference just cited, the Italian version of the *Vitae et sententiae philosophorum* claiming to be a translation of the work of Diogenes Laertius is nothing of the sort.[25] To a remarkable extent, it is little more than a translation into Italian of Burley's text.[26] One may best illustrate this by quoting the passage on

---

[22] Listed in Ada Thurston and Curt F. Bühler, *Check List of Fifteenth Century Printing in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, (New York, 1939), nos. 507 and 1458; see also the listing on p. 326.

[23] Without the full explanation for *Gallia comata*, which is, therefore, a French addition (as Mr. Hough thought probable).

[24] Curt F. Bühler, James G. McManaway and Lawrence C. Wroth, *Standards of Bibliographical Description* (Philadelphia, 1949), p. 36, n. 34.

[25] The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* lists ten editions (GW 8385-8394) under Diogenes Laertius, with the note "ist eine gekürzte, freie Bearbeitung der lat[einischen] Vorlage."

[26] This was pointed out in my article "Greek Philosophers in the Literature of

Plautus (not to be found at all, of course, in the Greek original of Diogenes Laertius)[27] which may then be conveniently compared with the Latin passage from Burley as printed by Mr. Hough (p. 58):

Plauto poeta fu gra*n* maestro di comedie o uer tragedie: & discipulo di Tullo. Fu eloque*n*tissimo & per po[u]erta[28] scriuea historie & fauole & ue*n*deuale & p*er* suste*n*tar la uita no*n* si uergogno far el mestier del pistor Soleua dir chi no*n* crede esser meritato del be*n* che fa ad altri singana lui stesso No*n* torre amicitia de pazzi Co*n* gli huomini p*er*uersi e piu facil cosa hauer odio che familiarita No*n* si debe far lhuo*mo* troppo amico daltri Diceua a*n*cora lhuo*mo* esser el piu fiero animale & el piu nuouo del mo*n*do i*mper*oche chi gli e alpari di se no*n* lo puo soffrir: se gli e minor*e* elo spreza: se e magiore li ha i*n*uidia: se gli e equale no*n* si co*n*corda seco. Vixe a Roma al te*m*po di Pompeio.[29]

This, one might suggest, is about as "unhumanistic" a volume as the Italian Quattrocento produced; it is entirely in the mediaeval tradition!

A few literary points might also be raised. In the ter Hoernen edition of Burley (GW 5783), the description of Plautus opens with the words: "Plautus Poeta Comicus Tulij discipulus Rome claruit." This is the precise wording also found in the *Rudimentum novitiorum*, the *Mer des histoires*, the German translation,[30] and the Italian "Diogenes" (with very minor changes). The Koberger (GW 5785) and Winters (GW 5782) editions have the

---

the Later Middle Ages," *Speculum*, XII (1937), 440-455 (especially pp. 451-452). In the same study (pp. 440-445), the textual relationship of the *De vita et moribus philosophorum* to the *Rudimentum novitiorum* and the *Mer des histoires* is also discussed at length.

[27] Nor was an account of Plautus added to the Latin version (by Ambrosius Traversarius), at least in the edition of Venice: Nicolas Jenson, 14 August 1475 (PML 309).

[28] The original has the misprint "ponerta."

[29] Quoted from the first edition, Venice: Bernardinus Celerius, 9 December 1480 (GW 8385; PML 36049), sign. h3, cap. CI. With very minor differences, the same text is found in the edition, Florence: Francesco Bonaccorsi and Antonius Francisci, 5 July 1488 (GW 8387).

[30] "Plautus der poet Comicus tulius junger ist zů Rom erschȳnen" (Sorg, f. 132^{v}).

text as given by Mr. Hough: "Plautus, comicus, philosophus, Tullii discipulus, Rome claruit." Again, the first group, which refers to Plautus as a poet, sets forth a section "De sentencijs eius moralibus," while the texts which describe Plautus as a philosopher refer to his sayings as being notable rather than moral. These details, as presented above, once more emphasize the fact that it is not only the words as written by the author (the "official" text) that have value; just as often the altered (even corrupt) version is more important in the development of a literary tradition than that authenticated by the writer himself.[31]

These, then, are some details which might have been set forth more accurately or more fully in the two articles under discussion. The present study was not undertaken with the purpose of casting aspersions on either of the studies. Both are extremely interesting and useful contributions to scholarship. It is equally true, however, that a greater acquaintance with bibliographical reference works would have made both essays even more interesting and more useful.

[31] On this point, see also the conclusions reached in my article "Studies in the Early Editions of the *Fiore di virtù*," *PBSA*, XLIX (1955), 315-339.

Caxton as a Literary Critic*

By Donald B. Sands

THIS paper endeavors to show that William Caxton when faced with a situation that allowed him to make a choice among a number of literary works displayed sound critical ability. It does not ignore the possibility that Caxton's business sense prompted the publication of numerous works. It assumes that a hard business head and critical ability are not incompatible. Some evaluations of Caxton would have us believe that they are.

English printed books in Caxton's lifetime can be divided into two groups—those printed by command or at least under the protection of a patron, and those, as works of a factual, devotional, or edifying nature, printed to fulfill a particular need. A number of Caxton's publications do not fall into either of these two groups. Examination of them reveals that they were probably financial risks and also that they were, for the most part, of an enduring or unusually effective literary nature, one that another printer-publisher without Caxton's qualifications would probably have overlooked. Realization of this distinction reveals Caxton not only as a shrewd businessman but also as an eclectic critic well in advance of his age.

First, an *ad hoc* definition. Here we shall assume that a critic is one who chooses the valuable and permanent from a number of literary works, good, bad, and indifferent, and that a man is no critic at all if he does not possess the opportunity to choose. In other words, if a patron or if an obvious public need determines what a man chooses, then he does not exercise his critical judg-

* Read before the Middle English Group of the Modern Language Association, Madison, Wisconsin, September 9, 1957.

ment. He may remain an excellent editor or publisher, but he is not a critic. Now let us see how a checklist of Caxton's works conforms to this scheme.

Here the seventy-seven individual works published by Caxton are broken down into ten categories. The number seventy-seven may appear low, but omitted are works printed in French, works belonging to a second issue or second edition, doubtful works, works printed in Caxton's type but published after his death, and works apparently produced for Caxton by another printer. The categories were suggested by H. B. Lathrop;[1] the titles within categories are those in E. Gordon Duff's *Fifteenth Century English Books.*[2]

First I count ten titles that would satisfy the needs of clergymen. Such sacerdotal pieces as *Quatuor Sermones*, *The Doctrinal of Sapience*, and John Mirk's *Liber Festivalis* are of a practical nature, for a ready market awaited them and hence little financial risk was involved in their production. It is significant that no patron seems to have backed any of these titles. None was done by aristocratic command.

Next I find two language texts: one is Donatus, which in Caxton's day had no serious rival; the other is *The Vocabulary in French and English*. Neither text had a patron; neither perhaps involved financial risk since one met the need for instruction in Latin and the other for instruction in the great commercial vernacular of the day.

A third category contains works for private devotional ends—death-bed prayers, ruminations on the four final things, lives of saints, and similar pieces possessing a strong subjective appeal to a devout reading public. I number twelve works here of which, to be sure, four were produced under patronage. Here again Caxton could have been certain of his public, just as sure perhaps

[1] "The First English Printers and their Patrons," *The Library*, Fourth Series, III (September 1, 1922), 76-78.

[2] Bibliographical Society, London (Oxford, 1917).

as a modern publisher would be when producing good Western or detective novels. The four works produced under patronage can be explained away—or nearly so. *The Fifteen Oes* was printed at the command of Lady Margaret and Queen Elizabeth; it is Caxton's attempt at a *Prachtausgabe,* a rather poor one since its ornamental borders and woodcuts are clumsy and primitive. *The Golden Legend,* finished only when the Earl of Arundel promised Caxton a buck in summer and a doe in winter and further implied he would take a certain number of copies when it was printed, is a tremendously ambitious work containing 449 leaves. Clearly the expense both in time and physical labor involved in the production of this work is so much greater than that needed for other devotional works that some sort of financial support would seem inevitable. The third devotional work that appeared under patronage, *The Book of Divers Ghostly Matters,* was done at the desire of "certain worshipful persons." It contains three separate tracts and was apparently printed on order. No second edition of it appeared. The fourth work, the English version of the *Cordyale,* seems to have been foisted on Caxton by Earl Rivers, who had recently undergone "great tribulation and adversity" and hence wished religious doctrine to "go abroad among the people." Devotional works, in other words, if small and plain, probably sold well; if they were large, elaborate, or somewhat anomalous, then patronage was needed.

A fourth and also financially safe category is made up of nine official publications such as indulgences and statutes. Such subliterary work is the mainstay of small printing houses; it is surprising that Caxton did so little of it.

Moral and didactic works without sacerdotal or devotional emphasis make a fifth category, to which several works of a financially risky nature belong. I number thirteen pieces here and find that six were produced under patronage. For example, *The Knight of the Tower* was produced at "the request of a lady"; *The Dicts or Sayings* at the command of Earl Rivers, and *The Book of*

Good Manners at the suggestion of a wealthy mercer of London by the name of William Pratt. Here, however, the works Caxton produced on his own are important. They are *The Game and Play of the Chess*, Chaucer's translation of *Boethius*, *Cato*, Cicero's *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute*, and Aesop's *Fables*. All but the first of these might easily be included in a reading list of a Great Books course in a modern college. All appeared without any indication of financial or aristocratic backing.

A sixth category made up of practical pieces on the art of war and on the principles of health numbers three works, two of which had backers. The one which Caxton produced on his own is the medical text *The Governal of Health*.

A seventh category, numbering six pieces, covers historical and political works, three of which were patronized. The three which Caxton produced independently have definite factual if not literary value. They are *The Description of Britain*, Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, and *Godfrey of Boloyne*.

Both the sixth category, that containing practical pieces, and the seventh, containing historical and political pieces, were apparently safe, for several recent scholars have pointed out the diversity in secular fifteenth-century manuscripts, a diversity that indicates that the late medieval Englishman was far more interested in straight factual information of all kinds than had for long been supposed.[3]

An eighth category numbering eight pieces contains the romances of the day, and it is significant that five of the eight romances were patronized; as was, for example, Malory's *Morte D'Arthur*, desired, it seems, by "many noble and divers gentlemen." Modern novels are risky things, and such works as *The Four Sons of Aymon* and *Blanchardyn and Eglantine* were probably risks in Caxton's day. Of the three works Caxton produced on his own, two—*The History of Jason* and *The Eneydos*—have classic

[3] See, e.g., H. S. Bennett, "Science and Information in English Writings of the Fifteenth Century," MLR, XXXIX (1944), 1-8.

prototypes; they can be counted as preferences altogether in his favor.

The ninth category, containing the works of the finest English poets up to Caxton's day, numbers thirteen pieces, five by Chaucer, seven by Lydgate, and one by Gower. All of these Caxton produced on his own, and numerically they make up the largest category of the ten. There is no patronage here, and presumably their production involved financial risk simply because Caxton had no way of knowing just who would buy them, as he did with the sacerdotal and official publications; or how popular they might be, since he was the person who was printing them for the first time. Here, it seems to me, Caxton's literary sense must have been his guide. He did not, to say the obvious thing, *have* to publish these pieces.

The tenth and last category contains one work, Caxton's translation of *Die Historie van Reynaert die Vos*. It is, if you wish, a satiric piece. It is significant in that there had been up to 1481 nothing at all like it in English literature. It is, of course, the habit of literary historians to point to the Aesopic fable, the beast *fabliau* of "The Fox and the Wolf," and Chaucer's "Nun's Priest's Tale." The truth is, however, that Caxton's *Reynard* is altogether different from any of these. It is a comic epic and not a fable. Its incidents derive more from the Germanic *Märchen* than from the Aesopic tradition. Here Caxton introduced something new into English literature, and did so without patronage or any assurance (other than the intrinsic appeal of the piece) that it would succeed. That it did so in his particular age is evidenced by the three editions that appeared before the close of the century.

The implications of this study—namely, that Caxton was first a good businessman and then, given the opportunity, a good critic—run contrary to three evaluations of Caxton that are accepted in the usual reference works. The dilettante approach would have us believe that Caxton, being a wealthy man, pub-

lished merely to please a cultivated audience, and consequently took literature chiefly as a hobby. In the Prologue to *Charles the Great,* he tells us he made his living from printing; his printing of so many works of so many kinds indicates a serious desire to reach the book-buying public.

A second approach, one almost at the opposite pole, is that which postulates a predominantly religious and patriotic urge behind Caxton's activities. It imputes to Caxton as a man the religious nature of works which were produced in all likelihood to supply a ready market. It interprets the lip-service given to patrons as profoundly moving, and ignores the relatively commonplace nature of the literature produced by patronage. Finally, it fails to see anything significant in the value of the literature Caxton chose to print when he was not satisfying practical needs or producing for a patron.

Finally, there is the approach that treats Caxton as the product of his age. In the body of reputable Caxton criticism it is the most formidable because the most recent and the best documented. Henry Stanley Bennett poses the question, "Did Caxton form the taste of his age or did he reflect it?"[4] Bennett accumulates much evidence to show that fifteenth-century England wanted to read pretty much what Caxton printed. It is an easy transition to conclude that Caxton merely rode the crest of the wave or, in Bennett's equally metaphorical words, "Caxton had only to reap where others had sown."[5] In this light, Caxton is a middleman and presumably his rewards should be those of a middleman.

It seems to me that it is unfair to Caxton to assume that he could be a Dr. Johnson or a T. S. Eliot and then to condemn him for not being so. First of all, there is the evidence of Caxton's successors. Wynkyn de Worde and Richard Pynson, for example, produced reprints and when not, then works under patron-

[4] "Caxton and his Public," RES, XIX (1943), 113.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

age and works of little or no value. To return to the question of choice with which this paper began: Caxton had no choice at all when producing for the Queen, Earl Rivers, or William Pratt. Nor was his ability to choose put to test in his production of sacerdotal, devotional, or purely factual works because here he was supplying a need. The market was certain. But with the tales derived from classical antiquity, with Cato and Cicero, with *Reynard the Fox*, and with Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate—all published on his own—the situation was different. How different, is shown by his successors who merely followed in their master's footsteps, simply because Caxton had already produced the very best literature available in his day.

Bibliographical Notes

A Misprint in the Venetian "Filocolo" of 1472

So far as this writer is aware, it was Joseph B. B. van Praet[1] who first noted the peculiar piece of printing on the verso of the last leaf of Boccaccio's *Filocolo* printed at Venice by Gabriele and Filippo di Pietro and dated 20 November 1472. There one finds the comment: "on remarque une chose assez singulière, c'est que dans tous les exemplaires, au verso du dernier feuillet, une partie des chapitres LXXXXIII et LXXXXIIII est réimprimée à l'envers avec des différences qui ne se trouvent pas dans ces mêmes parties de chapitres, lesquelles occupent leur véritable place. Le seul exemplaire [imprimé sur vélin] connu existoit dans la Bibl. de Harley."[2] Many years later, Pellechet-Polain[3] offered a modification and correction of this observation with the note: "Fnc. 224 v°, col. 1, fin du chap. 93 et commencement du chap. 94 du 4e livre du Filocolo, et col. 2 un autre fragment, imprimés par erreur à cet endroit. De plus l'impression en est renversée." A similar statement was contained in the British Museum's catalogue of incunabula.[4] Nevertheless, no further study of this piece of printing nor an explanation for its appearance in the volume seems to have been undertaken.[5]

[1] *Catalogue de livres imprimés sur vélin, qui se trouvent dans des bibliothèques tant publiques que particulières* (Paris, 1824-1828), II, 214-215.

[2] This copy is now in the Morgan Library; cf. Ada Thurston and Curt F. Bühler, *Check List of Fifteenth Century Printing in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York, 1939), no. 788.

[3] *Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1897-1909), II, 27.

[4] *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum* (London, 1908-1949), V, 199: "In the Paris copy (Pellechet no. 2454) two fragments of chapters 93 and 94 of book 4 have been printed upside down on the last page, no doubt owing to accidental inking of type used as a block." This leaf is wanting in the British Museum's copy, which accounts for the incorrect identification of the fragment.

[5] The copies at Harvard and Venice (Biblioteca Marciana Inc. V. 499) have paper pasted over the last blank page in order to cover some printing. Dr. Tullia Gasparrini-Leporace kindly informs me that the Marciana copy has the fragment

The printed text on the verso of the Morgan leaf[6] represents the following sections of the *Filocolo* as printed in this volume: the first column (until the penultimate line) contains portions of chapters 93 and 94 of Book IV and corresponds to column 1 of the existing signature [s]3. The concluding word of the penultimate line (cōten-||to), the entire last line, and all of the second column contains part of the text of chapter 98 of the same book and corresponds to [s]4^{v}, line 8, to [s]5, line 10. Throughout, the setting of type is totally different from that found at the appropriate places in the book. The questions to be answered here are: (1) why does this printing appear in the book, (2) how can the different settings of type be accounted for, and (3) why does the text not correspond to that found on any one of three pages in the volume (sigs. [s]3, [s]4^{v}, or [s]5) but contains parts of all of these?

The explanation for the presence of any printing at this place in the volume must surely be that given by the British Museum catalogue: the page of type was obviously meant to serve as a "block" but was accidentally inked and printed.[7] From the nature of the text and its position in the book, this fragment is clearly not a bit of proof subsequently used in the production of the volume;[8] it was manifestly printed from type originally set up for the purposes of printing. The gap in the text of the fragment, however, probably supplies the answer for our further questions.

It seems evident that the printer had set this fragment while exactly following his manuscript source and had expected to print this text as sig. [s]3 of his edition. The proof-reader,[9] however, discovered the con-

---

as cited by Pellechet. In the Milan (Braidense) copy, Dr. Emma Pirani states, the fragment is found printed (right side up) on the recto of folio 224, while the verso contains the *Vita* of Boccaccio (usually found on the recto) but printed upside down. I suspect that this variant is the result of a binder's efforts rather than being a case of further erroneous imposition. The copy (D.7.4.3.) in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence corresponds to the Morgan example.

[6] The *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* (Leipzig, 1925-1938), IV, 268, no. 4463, has the note: "Auf Bl. 224b auch irrtümlich eingefärbter Stützsatz von Bl. 80b." This is also true, I am informed, of the copy (A.1.19) in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence, but I have not had the opportunity of examining this incunable at first hand.

[7] For a discussion of other such cases, see the writer's two articles in *The Library Chronicle* (University of Pennsylvania): "A Note on a Fifteenth-Century Printing Technique" (XV [1949], 52-55) and "A Misprinted Page in a Fifteenth-Century Book" (XXI [1955], 3-5).

[8] Proof is not usually pulled on vellum, and the fact that the fragment is found in multiple copies are two further arguments against the theory that this is a case of "una bozza scorretta" as has been suggested to me.

[9] Or the printer, if this was not at that time one and the same person.

fused text at this point, and the press was thereby obliged to reset this page. When the compositor examined the manuscript he was using as copy,[10] it must have become clear to him that there was a lacuna in the text, probably because a leaf or sheet was wanting in this codex. He thereupon discarded the manuscript he had been following, obtained another, and used this for printing his volume from sig. [s]3 onwards.

The state of the text makes it quite clear that the printer did not simply obtain a copy of the missing portion and then returned to his original source, but that he decided to replace his copy by a more complete manuscript. This accounts, quite obviously, for the textual differences between the fragment and the ultimately printed text. In the text as finally used, one reads on [s]4^{v}, lines 14-17: "& quella [coppa] piena di bisanti doro tanto grande che apena haueria piu parmenione portato." Here the fragment has "tanto graue," which is the usual reading and appears in the *editio princeps* and the printings of Venice 1530, Venice 1612, and Florence 1829. There can, of course, be a considerable difference between a cup that is "so big" and one that is "so heavy" that it can hardly be carried. Again, lines 35-37, the final text has: "E poi disse grande & nobile e il prese*n*te e pretioso tereno," while the fragment has "il tereno." Without the second article, "presente" would seem to be an adjective rather than a noun. One would render the text as found in the book as: "great and noble is the present and precious soil," while the fragment suggests the translation: "great and noble is the present, and precious [is] the soil." The second "il" is also present in the editions cited above.[11] It seems certain, therefore, that the alterations in the text (between that of the fragment and that finally used in the book) cannot be accounted for as simple whims of the printer; more probable is the assumption that they are the result of dependence upon manuscripts belonging to different literary traditions.

It is, thus, most likely that the printer, upon the discovery of the lacuna in his original [s]3, sought out another manuscript and reset the type from

[10] The first edition (Florence: Johannes Petri, 12 November 1472) does not have a lacuna at this point. Through the kindness of Mr. H. P. Kraus, I have been able to examine the copy in his possession. The Florentine and Venetian editions were certainly derived from different manuscripts and are not related.

[11] The edition of Naples: Sixtus Riessinger, 8 March 1478 (PML 34176) has the text of the Venetian edition, from which it was apparently set. Evidence for this is provided by the headings for Book 1, chapter 2, where both have "dil prologho"; in the heading for the next chapter, both have "del presente prologo." The identical mistake is found in both editions, since each has two successive chapters in Book 1 (following "*Capitolo* XXVII") numbered XXVIII.

his new source. The page of type he had previously set up was, of course, useless for purposes of printing and was therefore put aside. It was not, however, "distributed" but was kept intact for such eventual uses as the printer might find for it. This occurred when he realized that he needed a page of type as a "bearer" for the last (blank) page. Finally, we may suppose that the printer inserted this text upside-down in the forme in order to emphasize the fact that the sole function of this bit of type was to serve as a "bearer." If so, this ruse was ineffective, since the pressmen proceeded to ink the entire forme and thus printed the text now appearing on the last page of the Morgan copy of this *Filocolo*.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

The Relationship of "The Maid's Tragedy" Q1 and Q2

Without exception, modern editors of Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy* have based their editions on Q2 (1622). Q1 (1619), which is about eighty lines shorter than Q2 and which differs from it in a number of single words and phrases, has been labeled "curtailed and frequently corrupt."[1] Yet Q1 has rarely been ignored completely because it contains a few lines which do not appear in Q2, and it provides, in some cases, readings which appear to be nearer the authors' intention than the corresponding readings of Q2. Typical of the position of all editors is that of Hazelton Spencer, who stated in the introductory note to his edition of the play:

> The First Quarto, of 1619, presents an inferior text, which is evidently the result of cutting and unauthorized tampering. As in the case of Philaster, however, some of its readings are pretty clearly more authentic than variants in the Second Quarto, on which, with a few corrections from the other Quartos and Folio of 1679, the present text is based.[2]

It is the purpose of this paper to show that Spencer and other editors of *The Maid's Tragedy* have been mistaken in using Q2 rather than Q1 as the basis of their editions. As Greg pointed out, ". . . The historical circumstances of the English language make it necessary to adopt in for-

[1] By P. A. Daniel, *The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher* (London, 1904), I, 4.

[2] Hazelton Spencer, *Elizabethan Plays* (Boston, 1933), p. 840. It should also be noted that Q3 (1630), a reprint of Q2, contains a few variants which have been regarded as authoritative, but these readings constitute a separate problem which is not within the scope of this paper.

mal matters the guidance of some particular early text. If the several extant texts of a work form an ancestral series, the earliest will naturally be selected [as copy-text] . . . since this will not only come nearest to the author's original in accidentals, but also (revisions apart) most faithfully preserve the correct readings where substantive variants are in question. . . ."[3] The genetic relationship of Q1 and Q2 is, therefore, the crucial question. I contend that Q2 clearly was printed from Q1 and, hence, that Q1 should provide the copy-text for a critical edition of *The Maid's Tragedy.*

That Q2 was printed from Q1 is, I believe, easily shown. Superficially the two editions are alike. The typography of the title pages, the lists of speakers, and the head titles is nearly identical, especially with respect to the use of ornaments, roman and italic type, and swash capitals. Both editions normally print 37 lines to a page. Such close resemblances suggest that Q1 may have been used as copy for Q2, and this suggestion is confirmed by other evidence that is derived from a closer comparison of the two books. This evidence is:

(1) TURNED-OVER LINES

Sig.			Turned up or turned down	
Q1	Q2		Q1	Q2
	A3v	greatnesse with the king?		TD
B4v	B1v	fond man	TU	TU
C1v	B2v	pleasd to speake	TU	TU
C1v	B2v	was not mine	TU	TU
C3v		credit that you doe.	TU	
	C2v	must helpe her		TU
D2v	C4	patience marke	TD	TD
D3v	D1	to thy/ locks	TD	TD
E2	D4	maiden-head to/ night	TU	TU
E3	D4v	no more em/ brace me.	TD	TD
	E1	cunning for/ me		TU
E3v	E1v	two roomes off	TD	TD
	E1v	lookes thus		TD
E3v	E1v	ioy were lesse.	TD	TD
E4	E2	wert married	TD	TD
E4		that may	TD	
	E4	tane her/ roome		TU
G1v		take to thy weapon	TU	
G2	F4	or to saue	TU	TU

[3] W. W. Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text," *Studies in Bibliography,* III (1950-1951), 29.

	G3v	braue anger		TU
	G3v	dishonored in him		TU
	G3v	smoother him		TU
H4	H2	boisterous knaue	TD	TD
K2	I4	whorde me, King	TD	TD
	K1v	on thee		TU
	K2v	must ghesse		TD
	L2	till now		TD

In Q1 there are sixteen turned-over lines and in Q2 twenty-four; the difference is accounted for by the fact that the type of Q2 is slightly larger than that of Q1 and that, in some cases, textual change or relineation has lengthened lines in Q2. The point to be noticed, however, is that in places where both quartos have turned-over lines, the lines invariably turn the same way.

(2) ACT HEADINGS

Q1	Q2
Actus. I. Scaen. I.	Actus I. Scaen. I.
Actus Secundus.	Actus Secundus.
Actus Tertius.	Actus Tertius.
Actus Quartus.	Actus Quartus.
Actus 5.	Actus 5.

It is seen that in both quartos the act headings are almost identical, even to the unexpected use of an arabic numeral in "Actus 5." The only difference between them lies in the omission of the period in "Actus 1."

(3) SHORT LINES SHARING THE SAME LINE OF TYPE

Q1 sig.		Q2 sig.
D1v	*Amin.* Sworne! *Euad.* I?	C3
E1	*Asp.* Nor you *Antiphila. Ant.* Nor I.	D2v
E3v	*Mel. Amintor. Amin.* Ha.	E1v
E3v	*Mel.* How? *Amin.* Prethee lets.	E1v
E4	*Amin.* Where? *Stra.* And his brother.	E1v
E4	*King.* . . . nights rest. *Euad.* Ill sir.	E1v
E4	*Amin.* Why well? *King.* What did you doe.	E2
E4v	*Euad.* As I did sir. *King.* Howes that?	E2v
F1	*Euad.* A lies. *King.* A does not.	E2v

Again there is an exact correspondence between the quartos, which is even more striking because it is a localized phenomenon. There is plenty

of opportunity before and after this point in the play to conserve space by doubling up lines; in Q1 this is done only in and around sheet E. Q2 follows without deviation.

(4) THE USE OF DASHES

Sig.	Q1	Q2	Sig.
B4	rogues?—againe, - who	rogues. - againe, - who	B1
B4v	more, - This	do.	B1v
D1	keeping, - why	do.	C3
D1	things: - oh	things: - oh	C3
D2v	dreame, - awake	do.	C4
D3	worth - Oh	do.	D1
D4	it - reputation	do.	D2
F3	speech - you		
F3v	do, - oh - oh	do.	F1v
F4	this, - it	do.	F2
G1v	draw, or I -	do.	F3v
G1v	doe, - but	doe - but	F3v
G1v	cuckold, - O	do.	F3v
G3	it, - I	do.	G1
G3v	gallerie, -	do.	G1v
I2	myselfe - I	do.	H4
L1v	gods - a blow	do.	K3v
L1v	kickt - why	do.	K3v

In only one place out of a total of eighteen does Q2 fail to follow Q1's use of the dash, and in only two instances does Q2 depart from the Q1 compositor's pointing (or lack of it) preceding the dash.

(5) ABBREVIATIONS IN THE TEXT

Sig.	Q1	Q2	Sig.
G2v	*Diph:*	*Diph.*	F4v
I1	*Melant.*	do.	H3
I1v	*Licip:*	*Lisip:*	H3v
	Melantius	*Melant.*	H4
I2v	*Cal:*	do.	H4v
I2v	*Call.*	*Cal.*	I1
I3v	*Diph.*	do.	I1v
I3v	*Diph.*	do.	I1v
L1v	*Euad:*	*Euadne*	K4
L4	*Dip.*	do.	L2

Again the similarity between the quartos is pronounced. Q2 never ab-

breviates without following Q1 (except to prevent a turnover on H4), and in only one place out of nine does Q2 expand a Q1 abbreviation.

If the two quartos were set from independent manuscripts, it must be argued that the characteristics which the books share were transmitted from the archetype through at least two independent scribal steps to the printed sheets. The evidence presented so far indicates that this possibility is very remote, and there is additional evidence of a purely bibliographical nature which rules it out altogether.

In Q1, apparently by mistake, a quad of unusual width was set in a stage direction (on sig. D4v), so that the direction appears:

Enter Aspatia, Antiphila, Olimpias.

The extra space is also found in the corresponding Q2 direction (sig. D2v). Moreover, in Q1 the last two lines of the text and the catchword on sig. I2 are:

Call. A pittie a pox vpon you.
Mel. Marke his disordered words, and at the Maske
Mel. Diagoras

and the first line on sig. I2v is:

Mel. *Diagoras* knowes he rag'd, and raild at me,

The speech prefix in the catchword on I2 and in the first line of I2v is an error. In Q2, however, on sig. H4v this arrangement is found:

Cal. A pittie a pox vpon you.
Mel. Marke his disordered words, and at the Maske
Mel. *Diagoras* knowes he rag'd, and raild at me,

It is impossible that these two errors[4] would have been reproduced in Q2 if the compositor of that book had not been setting from a copy of Q1. This

[4] To these bibliographical links might be added a peculiarity noticed by Greg on sig. A4v of Q2 (*Bibliography*, II, 500). The last line and catchword of A4v are:

. . . the best of *Rhodes* sit there,
there

and the first line of B1 is:

and theres roome.

In the corresponding section of Q1 the last line and catchword of sig. B3v are:

. . . the best of Rhodes sit there,.
there

and the first line of B4 is:

there is no roome.

Greg believes that the Q2 compositor erroneously duplicated the last word on G2 sig. A4v. It could be argued, however, that the wrong Q2 catchword was simply

and the evidence of the typographical similarities cited earlier point only to that conclusion, although the number of changes that were introduced into the text of Q2 makes it necessary to assume that the exemplum of Q1 which was used for copy was heavily annotated and perhaps interleaved.

To choose Q2 as the copy-text of an edition of *The Maid's Tragedy* is, then, to choose the more remote text and to recede "at least one step further from the author's original in so far as the general form of the text is concerned."[5] In spite of the superiority of Q2, future editors of the play should base their work on Q1. It may be possible to legitimize some or most of the Q2 readings, but even if this is done the Q2 readings should be introduced into the general texture of Q1 and not the Q1 readings into Q2.

ROBERT K. TURNER, JR.

Virginia Military Institute

Two Notes on the Copy for Pope's Letters

I

Pope's Use of Drafts of his Letters

Professor George Sherburn's admirable account of Alexander Pope's activities in publishing his letters[1] seems to include nearly all that may be profitably said on the subject. His remarks on the nature of the copy Pope sent to the press when he was not merely reprinting previously published material are, however, to be found only in scattered footnotes to individual letters, and do not constitute a full statement of the evidence. This copy might be the letters as sent through the post, drafts of these letters preserved by the sender for one reason or another, or transcripts of either kind of material.[2]

It seems clear that Pope fairly regularly sent transcripts to the press. According to the apparently authoritative *Narrative of the Method by which the Private Letters of Mr. Pope have been Procur'd and Publish'd*, 1735, "a

taken over from Q1 where it stood correctly. If this interpretation is allowed, another bibliographical link between the quartos is established.

[5] Greg, "Rationale," p. 24.

[1] *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, ed. George Sherburn (1956), I, xi-xviii.

[2] I shall call the letters as received by their addressees, originals, though strictly any that was preceded by a draft would be itself a transcript. One letter Pope seems to have written for publication only, not for sending to the addressee (Sherburn, III, 418; letters on I, 48, 196, and 274 have also been suspected); this would presumably be similar in physical characteristics to the other originals.

few of his own Letters, as well as of his Friends . . . he inserted in Two Books, some Originals, others Copies, with a few Notes and Extracts here and there added" (Sherburn, III, 459). The same source tells us that Pope's correspondence with Wycherley in *The Posthumous Works of William Wycherley, Vol. II*, 1729, was printed from copy "transcrib'd for the Press from the Manuscript Books above-mention'd" (*ibid.*). Professor Sherburn is of the opinion that the *Letters* of 1735 was probably printed from transcripts, though he allows the possibility that Pope may have sent some originals to the press (*ibid.*, III, 453, n. 1). He also appends notes to some of the letters included in the "clandestine volume" of 1740 to the effect that they were printed from transcripts (*e.g.*, *ibid.*, II, 324, n. 3; III, 47, n. 1 and 96, n. 1).

In general, however, when Pope had originals by him—and he recovered many of his own letters in one way or another—he could have sent them to the press without going to the trouble or expense of transcription. Professor Sherburn's collations show that the identifiable changes Pope made in the letters could normally have been made with nothing more than linings out and interlinings or insertions in the margin. Even when Pope amalgamated two or three letters into one and changed the addressee, he would have needed a transcript only for secrecy; if he trusted his printers in this matter, none of them gave him away.[3] On the other hand, none of the nineteen extant originals of letters first printed by Pope shows any signs of having been to the press.

Of course, the evidence of these originals is not conclusive. For one thing, they are so few and scattered that they may simply have happened not to receive any printing-house markings. For another thing, Pope may have kept drafts of these letters. One way in which he might inadvertently have preserved a draft is shown by his letter to Sir William Trumbull of 14 February 1714/15, which has on the back Trumbull's draft of his reply (Sherburn, I, 281, n. 3). It is a fair guess that Pope would deliberately preserve some drafts of letters to persons whom he had especially exerted himself to impress. The best evidence for printing from drafts is to be found in the letters to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. In each of the three letters Pope printed and for which we have the originals we find that where the originals have linings out or insertions over carets, Pope's printed texts have the words lined out and omit the words inserted. Furthermore, the linings out are all false starts, and Pope's texts carry them out to logical conclusions.

[3] Though Curll asserted that Lawton Gilliver had told him Pope was responsible for the secret printing of the *Letters* of 1735 (Sherburn, III, 494).

There are additional differences between the originals and Pope's printed texts which suggest to Professor Sherburn that the letters may have been printed from transcripts made for Pope by Lady Mary (Sherburn, I, 355, n. 5). When Pope printed these letters, he and Lady Mary were enemies; yet his printed texts do not simply lessen or omit old compliments, they do not have or have somewhat altered passages that glance at characteristics *she* might wish to veil (*e.g.*, *ibid.*, I, 367, n. 3). Here are the passages that to me suggest printing from drafts, as they appear in the originals in the Pierpont Morgan Library and in Pope's first printed texts [the words lined out bracketed]:

Letter of 18 August [1716] (Sherburn, I, 353, line 15)

MS: [me] tis almost foolish to take any pains . . .

1735: methinks 'tis . . .

Letter of 20 August [1716] (Sherburn, I, 356, line 6)

MS: your Thoughts upon paper will be [a] more durable, and . . .

1735: . . . will be a more lasting possession to me, and . . .

Same (Sherburn, I, 357, line 11)

MS: to love [twenty] a hundred thousand [people] men who never . . .

1735: to love twenty thousand people who . . .

Letter of [1716-17] (Sherburn, I, 382, line 1)

MS: I [can] no more think I can have too many . . .

1737: I can never have . . .

Same (Sherburn, I, 382, line 9)

MS: I reckon in that short one from Dort . . .

1737: I reckon that short one . . .

II

An Example of Printing from Originals

Twenty-three of Pope's original letters to Henry Cromwell fell into the hands of Edmund Curll, who published them in *Miscellanea* (1727). As I have microfilms of only about half these letters, I asked Professor Sherburn, who has photostats of the whole set, and D. G. Neill, Esq., of the Bodleian Library, where the originals are preserved, to correct or confirm my preliminary impressions. Both these gentlemen have in addition most kindly supplied me with useful information beyond what I asked for. The manuscripts present a number of pretty problems of, I believe, general bibliographical interest.

Miscellanea contains in all twenty-five of Pope's letters to Cromwell.

Twenty-four of them make up the first section of the first volume, signatures B-G^6, pages 1-72. The last of these was printed from a transcript, which is preserved with the originals of the other twenty-three in the Bodleian Library. The twenty-fifth letter, wholly in verse, appears in the second section of the volume, on pages 77-82, but for this letter no manuscript is known. From the markings on the twenty-three originals and the transcript, it would appear that Curll edited the copy as follows. He numbered the letters. He three times expanded "W" to "Wycherley" (Sherburn, I, 38, lines 12 and 15; 135, n. 5). He added footnotes (*ibid.*, 125, n. 1; 137, n. 6). He supplied words accidentally torn away (*ibid.*, 136, n. 4). He crossed out several passages, and when he crossed out the first two lines of the postscript to the letter of 12 October 1710, "I cou'd . . . write: My" in Professor Sherburn's text, he wrote in "P.S. My" (*ibid.*, I, 90, n. 6; 91, n. 1; 99, n. 6; 130, n. 3; 136, n. 1).[4] He transferred from another letter the sentence now pasted below the postscript to the letter of 24 June 1710 and printed by Professor Sherburn as its last sentence (*ibid.*, I, 91); it originally followed immediately after the signature to some other letter; the shape of the pasted slip fits best, but not perfectly, the cut-off at the end of the letter of 12 November 1711. In addition, he arranged the lineation of the Latin verses in the postscript to the letter of 12 October 1710. The last page of the original begins [the words lined out bracketed as before]:

her into Lincolnshire. Tu—Leucadia potes esse salubrior unda, [& forma & meritis tu—Phoebus eris.] Et forma & meritis tu—Phoebus eris.

Professor Sherburn tells me that "Et . . . eris" is in Curll's hand. But Curll did not otherwise indicate on the manuscripts the styling for the printed volume, unless he was responsible for the double underlining of "THEBAID" in the transcript (Sherburn, I, 37).

The compositor may have had special oral instructions about the styling, or even a sheet of written instructions—he may, for example, have been directed to insert "Dear Sir" and "P.S." as necessary (the originals usually have "Sir" or nothing), and to expand "W" to "Wycherley"

[4] Professor Sherburn's text (I, 99) would indicate that Pope wrote "P.S." at the head of the postscript to the letter of 12 October 1710; I think, as I say, that Curll wrote it. Professor Sherburn (I, 36, n.2) says that the date to the letter of 19 January 1707/8 was lined through when the subscribed address was transferred to the head of the letter; I think that Curll lined through date and address (see below) and that the rewriting of the address was the work of another. Professor Sherburn (I, 38, n. 4) says that the postscript to this letter was not printed by Curll, but it appears in at least some copies of *Miscellanea*.

(Sherburn, I, 68, n. 2; 102, n. 3)—or Curll may have made the additions in proof. Perhaps the compositor, rather than Curll, was responsible, though accidentally, for the omission of a word in the letter of 24 July 1711 and of the whole postscript to the letter of 7 May 1709 (*ibid.*, 131, n. 1; 58, n. 1). The postscript would have been the first text on $C1^r$, and, as I shall show, there is a possibility that the compositor marked his copy to remind himself to begin $C1^r$ with the letter of 11 July 1709. Perhaps Curll, rather than the compositor, was responsible for two footnote references to Gay's "On a Miscellany of Poems, to Bernard Lintott" (*ibid.*, 136, n. 2; 138, n. 6). Both appear in the margins of the originals, but the first, Professor Sherburn tells me, is not in Curll's hand, and so was presumably copied there from the printed text; and the second, Mr. Neill tells me, is written (after a false start)"A Receipt for a *Miscellany*," and so was presumably changed by Curll in proof. Who can say whether the compositor or Curll, reading proof, changed Pope's "Common Garden" to "Covent Garden" and his "Critic"—i.e. "critique"—followed by a colon, to "Criticism," followed by a comma. (Sherburn, I, 56, n. 3; 96, n. 5)?

Two other changes I am inclined to think originated in the compositor's solving for himself problems in the copy. The first is in the postscript to the letter of 24 June 1710, already mentioned. Wherever the sentence now pasted below this postscript was when the compositor had the original before him, it did not follow the letters "P.S.," and there is no direction on the original for him to insert it there. Furthermore, in the sentence following "P.S." in the original, the words "most humble Service, &" are lined out. In *Miscellanea* not only is the sentence from the slip inserted after "P.S." but in the other sentence "Mr. Englefyld" is changed to "He" and the words "most humble Service, and" are retained. The remaining change is in the letter of 29 August 1709, where some words are missing or illegible in the original (Sherburn, I, 72, n. 1). Owing to the vagaries of photographic reproduction, I can in my microfilm see less than Professor Sherburn could see of the first passage that is affected by the imperfection in the original (marked by the square brackets in the next to the last line on page 70 of his text), but I can see more of the original text than he could in the second. In my microfilm I can read:

⟨o⟩ut of his fi⟨rst⟩ Minister, the Chief Box-keeper's Pocket; at a late Conferē ⟨betw⟩ix⟨t ⟩ on the part of the Confederates, & his Theatri-

It seems certain that the words above the break suggested the reading found in *Miscellanea*: "out of his first Minister, the chief Box-keeper's

Pocket, at a late Conference betwixt him and his first Minister about the Part of the Confederates, . . ." This is a passage about the actors' struggle with Christopher Rich ("his Theatrical Majesty"). Therefore, considering also the remains of two characters showing in my microfilm and identified by Mr. Neill as "y" and, more tentatively, "&," I should suggest: "betwixt Owen Swiney &c. on the part of the Confederates."

It would be interesting to know how accurately the printer could cast off copy when working with original letters, but unfortunately there are no signs that Curll's printer took the trouble here. Possibly this was because *Miscellanea,* like others of Curll's publications, was thrown together as materials came to hand. For example, the letter printed from the transcript comes at the end of the series, without date; the transcript has a date, 19 January 1707/8, which indicates that it ought to have begun the series. The date, like the address, which is also absent from the printed text, is lined through. It therefore looks very much as though this letter came to hand after printing had begun. Another late-comer would seem to be the isolated letter printed in the second part of the volume. The second volume may end with any of several reissues of old pamphlets.

But if there are no marks of casting off copy, there seems to be a series of annotations by the compositor to remind himself where to resume work. Some uncertainty arises from the fact that the manuscripts have been marked up in places by later readers, but perhaps none would have made just these notes. Discovering a square bracket in the original before the word that in *Miscellanea* is the first on D1^{r}, and none before the corresponding word for E1^{r}, I guessed that the compositor was setting a sheet (that is, two 12° half-sheets) at a time, which we are accustomed to think of as a normal day's stint. But inquiries of Professor Sherburn and Mr. Neill as to the words beginning C1^{r}, F1^{r}, and G1^{r} brought replies that there were brackets in the original before both of the latter. Mr. Neill also reported a similar bracket before the word heading B2^{r}, and a suggestive "Chap. 1." at the head of the letter beginning C1^{r}. "Chap. 1." is meaningless, but the "C" is much larger than the rest of the letters, which may then be no more than a doodle inspired by it. If the compositor inserted the brackets and the "C" to show himself where to take up work again, he did not proceed at the uniform pace theory would assign to him. The absence of a bracket in front of the first word on E1^{r} may not be significant. The first word on that sheet is the first word on the second page of the letter of 24 June 1710, following some French verses at the foot of the first page, and perhaps the compositor aided his memory by folding the copy, or leaving a marker between the leaves. But the

bracket for the beginning of $B2^r$ is hard to get around without denying the significance of the whole set.

VINTON A. DEARING

University of California, Los Angeles

The Theatrical Collectanea of Daniel Lysons

Historians of the English stage, as well as enthusiasts about Horace Walpole and the Strawberry Hill Press, will be gratified to learn that the five volumes of dramatic materials collected by the Reverend Mr. Daniel Lysons that have been untraceable since the Lysons sale of 17 March 1828 are in the Folger Shakespeare Library. The volumes are listed by Professor A. T. Hazen as item 1 under entry Number 60 in *A Bibliography of the Strawberry Hill Press* (p. 262), and there is a further entry, Number 62 (p. 264). Volumes I and II, bound uniformly,[1] were purchased by Mr. Folger as item 2220 in the Daly sales of March 1900. He had to wait nearly thirty years to get Volumes III, IV, and V[2] from Maggs Bros. in May 1928.

In Volumes I, II, and III there is a printed title-page, as follows:

COLLECTANEA:
OR, A
COLLECTION
OF
ADVERTISEMENTS
AND
PARAGRAPHS
FROM THE NEWSPAPERS,
Relating to various Subjects.
PRINTED AT STRAWBERRY-HILL,
BY THOMAS KIRGATE,
FOR THE COLLECTOR, DANIEL LYSONS.

Volumes I and II have, in addition, a printed half-title, unmentioned by Hazen:

[1] In half calf. The lettering on the spines is similar: COLLECTANEA / THEATRICAL / 1 (2). Ca. 10½″ x 16½″.

[2] These three volumes are also bound alike, in half calf. The wording on the spines is identical with that on Volumes 1 and 2, except for the addition of "VOL"; and the use of roman numerals, III, IV, V. The volumes are slightly larger, ca. 10⅝″ x 17″.

THEATRICAL.
VOL. I. (II)

There are no title-pages in Volumes IV or V, but in Volume V is half-title just like that in Volume II, with the roman numeral II altered by pen strokes to III, probably by one of the owners of the books between 1828 and 1928. There is no clue to the source from which Daly secured his two volumes, and the only hint of the location of Volumes III-V in the century after the Lysons sale is the insertion near the end of Volume V of accounts of the royal festivities in London during June 1897, taken from *The Glasgow Herald* and *The Kirkintilloch Herald and Lenzie, Kilsyth, Campsie, and Cumbernauld Press.*

Lysons did more than paste newspaper clippings on blank pages. He dated and frequently identified the sources, added pertinent comments, compiled indexes, and supplied transcripts or summaries of important items he could not obtain in the original printed form. After a few preliminaries in print and manuscript, his first printed excerpt (fol. 5) relates to actors and the stage and comes from the *Perfect Diurnal of Proceedings* of 11 October 1647. The second (fol. 16) is a notice from the *P*[*rotestant*] *M*[*ercury*] of 27 April 1704: "The New *Theatre* in *Bath* will be opened the First Week in *May* next." This is followed (fol. 19^{v}) by a gap in the chronological series until 1711, when theatrical notices become numerous. The last clippings in the final volume are dated 1823. Since the books are large, Lysons was able to insert a number of fine mezzotints of actors. He included a few playbills, those of provincial theatres being probably the most interesting. And when actors or theatres became involved in sensational events, as during the O. P. riots, he collected many of the colored cartoons, including at least one Rowlandson, and several scarce pamphlets. The pages of Lysons' Theatrical Collectanea are well worth the turning.

James G. McManaway

The Folger Shakespeare Library

Promoting a Book: Prescott to Bancroft, December 20, 1837

Besides the decade of research and writing required to produce his *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic*, William Hickling Prescott gave that work additional attention in a well-planned, multi-faceted promotional effort.

For almost a year prior to the release of his first book on Christmas Day of 1837, Prescott had been turning repeatedly to his friend and fellow historian George Bancroft for advice and assistance that might better guarantee the favorable public reception he desired for his literary bantling.[1] The logic of Prescott's turning to Bancroft lay in the measure of success the latter already knew as historian. The first volume of his *History of the United States* had appeared in 1834, the second in 1837. Breathing the buoyant nationalism so common to that generation, Bancroft's work, challengingly written, beautifully bound and widely read, knew a success worthy of emulation. Prescott was so enthusiastic over Bancroft's first volume as to urge Obadiah Rich, his agent in London, "to give it some circulation on your side of the water."[2] He had written a newspaper review of the recently released second volume.[3] Now it was Bancroft's turn to aid Prescott, and when the historian of the United States gave the historian of Spain virtual *carte blanche*, the latter made the most of it.

Five days before the release of *Ferdinand and Isabella*, Prescott's every thought concerned the success it might achieve. The letter of December 20, 1837, discloses the breadth and depth of one author's interest in the business routine of selling his product to the American reading public, in addition to offering a succinct, self-written estimate of a multi-volume historical work. This side of Prescott's nature was not to be restricted simply to his initial book; indeed many of the particular devices he urged upon Bancroft in 1837 were employed repeatedly in subsequent decades with other titles. So much of what Prescott suggested went into effect, that it is apparent that his merchandising skill so substantially reënforced his literary and historical skills as to constitute a double-barrelled contribution to the quickly attained success of his *Ferdinand and Isabella*.

[1] Massachusetts Historical Society, Bancroft Papers, William H. Prescott to George Bancroft, March 6, 1837. This letter is crowded with queries.

[2] Roger Wolcott (ed.), *The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott 1833-1847* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), p. 4.

[3] Massachusetts Historical Society, Bancroft Papers, William H. Prescott to George Bancroft, October 4, 1837. Prescott reviewed Bancroft's third volume in "Bancroft's United States," *North American Review*, LII (January, 1841), 75-103.

But before Prescott could peddle his book to the public, he had to sell it to Bancroft. (The latter's own review of the work, a piece of writing remarkably influenced by Prescott's letter,[4] is the best proof of that success.) The letter follows:

Boston. 20 Dec. 1837.

Dear Bancroft,[5]

I received your obliging letter this morning. I have not had many occasions, in the course of my life, to tax my friends severely; and when I have, I have been fortunate enough not to find them wanting. Your friendly offers go further than I should have had the face to ask—though it is just what I should have counted upon from you. I took counsel with my publishers[6] on the suggestions in your letter, and I find they have a great opinion of the importance of the Globe, the Evening Post, and the Observer[7]—the last not least, though I was not aware before of its great circulation. The Democratic Magazine[8] also will be a valuable organ. With regard to the alternative you give me of the American Quarterly or the Calvinist Quarterly,[9] I shall be governed by your opinion. I believe I am least strongly provided for in Philadelphia; but the American Quarterly is, I believe, as you say, on its last legs. Your suggestions in regard to the Intelligencer and N. Y. American[10] are right; and Sparks[11] is engaged to take care of them for me. I am not the less obliged, however, by your friendly offers.

Touching the copies—their Catholic Majesties[12] will keep their Christmas in Boston—that is to say, on that day they are to make their debut on this republican stage. Mr. Howard leaves town, I understand, on Friday—possibly not till Saturday. On whichever day, I shall have a copy stitched together for him to take to you; and whatever you may think of the literary execution, your eyes will wander over such beautiful cream-colored reams of well sized paper,

[4] [George Bancroft], "Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella," *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, II, no. VI (May, 1838), 160-166.

[5] The manuscript text of this letter is among the Bancroft Papers deposited at the Massachusetts Historical Society, and is published by permission of the Society.

[6] American Stationers' Company of Boston.

[7] Although Prescott's reference is probably to the three New York City newspapers, the third one might just as easily refer to the *Philadelphia Observer*.

[8] That is, the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*.

[9] The *American Quarterly Review* was published in Philadelphia between 1827 and December, 1837; the "Calvinist Quarterly" cannot be identified.

[10] The *National Intelligencer* of Washington, D. C. and the *New York American* were among the most influential newspapers of the period.

[11] Jared Sparks (1789-1866) editor, educator, historian and long-term friend of Prescott and Bancroft.

[12] With this historically accurate phrase Prescott often referred to his *Ferdinand and Isabella*.

and such fair typography as have rarely greeted them on this side the water.

The publishers have felt particularly ambitious to come up to anything that may come from London;[13] and if you approve of the result, pray notice the *physique* of the book—which will help the sale, and is but due to them. I think books got up with as much care in this respect as yours, and mine, and Sparks's,[14] form a favorable contrast to the South, and cannot fail to have some effect in raising the standard in the country. I wish you would cast your eye upon a rare little device, stamped on the back, & printed on the title page, being the arms of Castile and Aragon, emblazoned on a common shield by an English artist, cunning in heraldry, here (of which you will find no other example the Spanish arms elsewhere having either the Austrian or the Bourbon quartered on them or the Aragonese omitted) surmounted by the crown of that day:—which, as it is a most appropriate, and purely historical device, will, I hope, give no offence to your republican eye.—The Company will forward a copy immediately on publication to the Editors of the Calvinist Quarterly, N. Y. Observer, Evening Post, Daily News, the Globe, and Democratic Magazine. You will also find a copy for yourself, in its dandy jacket, at S. Colman's 114 Fulton St. New York, which you will put on your shelf, inscribing therein, if you please, "from his friend, the Author." The publishers desire me to say that they will instruct Colman also to supply you with four copies to be disposed of whereever you think they will do me a service, in New York or elsewhere.

As it will be useful to follow up any notice of the book in a *newspaper* with occasional brief extracts from the work itself,[15] and as the newspaper gentry will probably not take the trouble to look up such, themselves, I will point out a few pages containing portable anecdotes, which may attract the attention of common readers.

Vol. I	pp 104–10	Marriage of F & I
"	p 131	"An incident" to 133, "Durward"
"	p 183	"Isabella" to 186, "dignity"
"	p 206	"An" to 208 "country"
"	p 255	"This was the origin" to 264 "trunk"
"	p 265	"The data" to 266 "forgot"
"	p 323	"The next" to 328 "spirits of the people"

[13] Richard Bentley published the first English edition of *Ferdinand and Isabella* in London, January, 1838. On receipt of a copy of the American edition of the history, Col. Thomas Aspinwall, who as Prescott's agent had made all the arrangements for the English edition, wrote the author, "I need not inform you that *your* edition has beaten *ours* out and out." Massachusetts Historical Society, Prescott Papers, Col. Thomas Aspinwall to William H. Prescott, March 10, 1838.

[14] Probably the *Life of Washington* published by Sparks in 1837.

[15] Extant correspondence indicates that Prescott believed this a highly desirable way to advertise a book. See Massachusetts Historical Society, Ellis Papers, William H. Prescott to George E. Ellis, December 22, 1843.

" II	p 8	"In the meanwhile" to 11 "witnessed"
" "	p 156	"it was a good" to 160 "queen"
" "	p 331	"The submission" to 335 "Granada"
" "	p 372n7	"A foundling &c."
" "	p 386	"As soon" to 390 "repose"
" "	p 393	"the clamor" 394 "her purpose"
" III	p 289	The Biscayan soldier
" "	p 47	"A move" to 49 "the age"
" "	p 180	"The queen" to 183 "Granada"
" "	p 267	"the still" to 270 "scholarship"
" "	p 277	"Gonsalvo" to 281 "Naples"
" III	p 342n24	"When Vicenza" to end
" "	p 419	"Such was" to 425 "eartrumpet"
" "	p 424	The *pendants*
" II	p 370	

You can point out to the editor two or three of these or similar passages, to come in at leisure, if you approve.

Lastly, as I think you will hardly have time to go doggedly through three such sturdy volumes of what (bating a friend's interest) hardly concerns you more than the "tale of Troy" or any other old wife's story, I will briefly notice the prominent chapters, which, in their several ways, if I am not mistaken, most deserve your attention. The following are the chapters most soigné—comprehending the *results*, as you will readily see, of considerable research—On the political institutions, and on the administration of the government, Introd. Sect. 1, 2; Part I. Chap. 6; Part II. chap. 9, 26.—On the Inquisition, P. I chap. 7,—On the preliminary history of the Spanish Arabs, P. I. chap. 8.—On the military policy of the Granadine War, P. I. ch 11.—On the Literature, P. I. chap 19, 20.—For the *narrative*—the military is chiefly concerned with the War of Granada and the Italian campaign of Gonsalvo de Cordova. Among these I should select P. I chap. 10, 13, and P. II. chap. 14, 15;—also the insurrection in the Alpuxarras, P. II chap. 6, and the capture of Oran, P. II. chap. 21.—For *biographical sketches*, which I have labored considerably, mingling biography, as far as compatible, with history, I would refer to P. II. chap. 5, 16, 24, 25.—In pointing those parts of the work out to you, you will understand, I do it only in the hope of facilitating your progress, not directing or influencing your judgment, which must be much better than mine. Whatever luck the book may have, I believe it is honest record, from rare and authentic sources, of a period rich in circumstance, of personages most remarkable in character, and both one and the other spick-and-span new to the English, and indeed the Continental reader—for the little 12mo spirits, in French and German, on this reign (noticed by me in the Preface) are not worth taking into

the account. Irving's Columbus (an episode in my plan) helped, rather than hurt me.[16] The Chronicle of Granada I wish was in his stomach now—that was a real damage—covering about a seventh of my work.[17] When I have run alongside of modern histories, occasionally, I believe you will not find me a plagiarist. If you had time, (which you have not) you might compare—but my notes will enable you to do so without much trouble. Let me recommend to you those in the Introduction; also those on Literature P. I. chap. 20; & the text & notes P. II. chap. 17, 19.

One merit I may certainly claim; that by ample citations and references, and by critical biographical notices of my authorities as Postscripts (for which I shall claim a patent) I have enabled every reader to estimate the nature and value of the evidence for himself.

One thing more I may claim; a little forbearance on the score of *venial* errors, from the singular difficulties under which, as you know, the work has been prepared. I believe I have told you that in my first year I had a reader who knew no modern tongue but English, but who by my drilling read a number of vols (seven quartos) through to me in Spanish, till my ear was familiarized. Since which I have pursued (with more or less help from my eyes) a similar process, in that and other languages, with more accomplished readers, who, however, have uniformly read to me in the original, whatever language it might be—so that I have taken nothing on trust. Even my writing has been done with an apparatus for the blind, which has not permitted me to see my own characters. —Excuse all this; but I can't help thinking it is a curious circumstance—the construction of three such bundles of references as these volumes under these embarrassments; and though my *modesty*, in the Preface, disclaims any mercy to be shown therefor, I think the public would have no bowels not to accord some.

Excuse this long twaddle, which I hope may be the means of saving you some time and tedium—and believe me, dear Bancroft.

Faithfully yours,
(s) Wm. H. Prescott

P. S. I have seen Mr. Howard today; he will probably go on Friday at 12.—if not, not till Monday—which will be bad. Mr. Mills is not here now.[18]

C. Harvey Gardiner

Southern Illinois University
Carbondale, Illinois

[16] *The History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* first appeared in 1828.

[17] *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada* first appeared in 1829. Proof of its continuing popularity is seen in Prescott's statement.

[18] Still fretting here over his chances of getting a prepublication copy of his book to Bancroft, Prescott actually failed in his attempt; see Massachusetts Historical Society, Bancroft Papers, William H. Prescott to George Bancroft, December 25, 1837.

Mrs. Stowe First Writes of Kentuckians for Kentuckians

Harriet Beecher Stowe's story "Isabelle and Her Sister Kate and Their Cousin" has the equivocal distinction of having been omitted by Mrs. Stowe when she gathered together the fugitive pieces for her first volume of literary productions, *The Mayflower*.[1]

Mrs. Stowe's latest and most thorough biographer was in error, however, when he described this as "another New England story" and attributed the omission to the author's slight estimation of the work.[2] Certainly it is not of imposing quality, yet it is clearly better than many of the sketches which she did include. The explanation of this seeming failure of judgment is to be found, I believe, in the peculiar circumstance that the story was deliberately addressed to a southern audience, hence was not considered suitable for inclusion in a volume which bore the clarifying subtitle *Sketches of Scenes and Characters among the Descendants of the Pilgrims*.

The relevant facts of chronology are these. The tale first appeared in D. C. Wickliffe's *Observer and Reporter*, a semi-weekly publication in Lexington, Kentucky, on August 3, 1839.[3] It was reprinted without change in the *Cincinnati Chronicle* of September 28, 1839.[4] Forrest Wilson's statement that the sketch was written under the stimulus of a new home upon the return of Harriet and Calvin to Walnut Hills in August must be revised accordingly.[5] Its composition must have occurred during the visit in the East, or even earlier.

Mrs. Stowe was too completely a New Englander, and at this period too immature a writer, to be able convincingly to assume any other rôle, but the following instances are attempts, in my opinion, to fit the narrative into a Kentucky setting. She writes that the Isabelle of the title was beloved by all the "county"; she mentions the names of five newspapers typical of those periodicals which printed the effusions of the worshippers of the young lady. Three names are those of prominent journals then published or recently published in Central Kentucky. Lastly, when introducing her male character she says that he "came down" to pass some time with his cousins after graduation from college.

[1] New York, Harper and Brothers, 1844.

[2] Forrest Wilson, *Crusader in Crinoline* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1941), p. 207.

[3] VIII, 27 (Aug. 3, 1839), p. 1.

[4] III, 52 (Sept. 28, 1839), p. 1.

[5] Wilson, p. 207.

The finding of a publication of Mrs. Stowe in the town which had the largest slave market outside of New Orleans has its own piquancy of ironic overtones, beyond the necessary factual correction which it entails.

John J. Weisert

University of Louisville

Book Reviews

Statuta Collegii Sapientiae. The Statutes of the Collegium Sapientiae in Freiburg University, Freiburg, Breisgau, 1497. Facsimile Edition, Introduced and Edited by Josef Hermann Beckmann. Lindau & Konstanz, Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1957. 2 vols., paper, boxed. 9⅝ x 6¾ inches. $12.50.

The two volumes comprising this publication present, in handy and useful form, the Chartulary of the Collegium Sapientiae in the University of Freiburg im Breisgau. One of these volumes reproduces, in full color facsimile, the *Chartularium* of 1497, now preserved in the University Archives. This codex of fifty-four folios contains three full-page illuminations and seventy-seven smaller miniatures, each of which introduces and illustrates a section of the Statutes formulated by Johannes Kerer. The second volume provides an introduction and a transcription of the Latin text, by Josef Hermann Beckmann, as well as a parallel summary in profane form, the English text throughout being the work of Mrs. Scheer-Cockbaine.

Artistically, the illustrations may not be of the highest quality, at least so far as one can tell from the facsimile; however, they are interesting, as Professor Astrik L. Gabriel puts it (*Student Life in Ave Maria College, Mediaeval Paris*, Notre Dame, 1955, p. 152), in giving "the students visual instruction in their duties and obligations" and thus transmitting these also to us. The miniatures are, of course, quite late in date and are related to the work of the contemporary Augsburg woodcutters, recalling the illustrations in the incunables of Bämler, Schönsperger, Sorg and Zainer. The editor sets forth, very tentatively, the theory that the illuminator and miniaturist of the Chartulary may have been the Swiss artist, Nikolaus Bertschi, later of Augsburg. The pictures, stressing the importance of the college regulations, are quite unparalleled, there being nothing comparable among the Statutes of other corporations of that day; they give us, again in the words of Canon Gabriel, a true "insight into the inner life of a college."

The introduction, transcription of the Latin text, and the English

rendering (in shortened form) give a satisfactory account of the background, nature, and contents of the Chartulary. Occasionally, to this reviewer anyway, the flavor of the original has been unnecessarily lost in the translation. For example (p. 45), the year is not divided into the two halves found in the Latin text, one running from Easter to the Feast of St. Michael (September 29th), the other from St. Michael's to Easter—but into the prosaic "summer" and "winter." Mild blemishes, too, are to be found. The Chartulary closes with a sentence, of which the opening words are (p. 94): "Legibus itaque et statutis optimis prudentissimorum consilio confectis reuerenciam et obedienciam ostendite." The English rendering for this reads: "Therefore eschew reverence and obedience to these our Statutes, which were drawn up with the assistance of learned and sagacious men." Indeed! *Eschew*, it would seem, is not precisely the word that is wanted here. *Traduttore, traditore*!

This new publication of the Statutes of the Collegium Sapientiae in Freiburg, at its comparatively modest price, will prove itself useful to students of many different subjects of investigation: palaeography, art history, economics, education, mediaeval ceremonies, discipline (especially punishment by way of deprivation of the daily wine-allowance!), college curriculum, libraries, morality—even sartorial propriety. This is a work that should appeal to many and varied purchasers—and they will not be disappointed.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

CARTER, JOHN. *Books and Book-Collectors*. Cleveland and New York, World Publishing Co., [1957]. 196 pp. 8 x 5 inches. $4.50.

In prefacing this collection of articles, reviews, notes, and obituaries reprinted from various sources, which comprise, he says, only five or ten percent of his occasional writings, the author is unnecessarily apologetic. John Carter is a bibliographical virtuoso whose least footnote is alive with the taste, knowledge and skill with words which mark all his writings. It may have to be a posthumous job—speed *not* the day—but surely there must eventually be a Collected Carter, if only for those bookmen like myself whose appetite for good bibliographical writing is insatiable.

With an Englishman's characteristic moderation, Mr. Carter includes in this volume just enough to make us crave more. Taken from the *Times Literary Supplement, Colophon, Spectator, Atlantic Monthly, Papers of the*

Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia and *Publishers' Weekly*, these pieces were selected to exhibit the widest range of the author's virtuosity. There are tributes to Carroll A. Wilson, Michael Sadleir, and Wilmarth S. Lewis; perceptive essays on collecting Victorian and detective fiction and minor books of major authors; a just and kindly obituary of that Wise man whom Carter helped bring low, and finally "Two Frivolities"—his account of flying the Schuckburgh Gutenberg to New York and his own satirical notice of his *ABC for Book-Collectors*—which are the kind of leavening which bibliographical writing all too seldom gets.

Lawrence Clark Powell

University of California Library
Los Angeles

Incunabula in American Libraries
A Third Census

The Bibliographical Society of America announces that it is preparing for publication a revision of Miss Margaret Bingham Stillwell's *Incunabula in American Libraries: A Second Census of Fifteenth-Century Books Owned in the United States, Mexico, and Canada,* published by the Society in 1940. Since the Second Census is now out-of-print, the Society desires to replace this useful publication with a Third Census in which the record will be brought up to date. Mr. Frederick R. Goff, Chief of the Rare Book Division of the Library of Congress, has agreed to serve as editor of the revision of Stillwell and to see it through the press.

A deadline of January 1, 1959 has been set for reporting corrections, changes in ownership, and additions to the earlier work, thereby permitting present owners better than a year in which to prepare their reports.

As with all co-operative undertakings of this nature, the degree of completeness of the present survey will depend upon the support and assistance which librarians, private collectors, and dealers are able and willing to provide. Everyone who receives this announcement is therefore earnestly requested to call it to the attention of interested individuals, particularly to those who made no report to the Second Census.

The Society hopes that all those who participated in the success of the 1940 Census, as well as the new collectors who have appeared since then, will wish to play a part in the new and enlarged Census, which according to present plans will be ready for publication in 1960.

The Bibliographical Society of America,
John D. Gordan, *President*
Curt F. Bühler, *Chairman,* Publications Committee

28 May 1957

All reports or communication relating to this new compilation should be addressed to:

Mr. Frederick R. Goff, Chief
Rare Book Division
Library of Congress
Washington 25, D. C.

Instructions

Previous registrants need not report titles already included in the Second Census provided the record is correct. Reporting of locations of additional copies, including duplicates, should be done as simply as possible. If available, only the 1940 Census number need be given, with qualifying special features when necessary. If the 1940 Census numbers are not readily available, or if a title to be reported is not included in the Census, the owner should furnish author, title, imprint if known, and bibliographical references if possible. If certain works are unknown to bibliographers, the essential details of collation should be given (*i.e.*, format, number of leaves, number of lines to the page, signatures, and types used). It would be desirable to have these supplementary titles reported on 3 x 5 cards. Please note special features such as copies printed on vellum, provenance (when it relates to a previous owner whose titles were recorded in the Second Census and subsequently dispersed), parts present if a work was published in several parts, and serious imperfections. Single leaves should be reported only if they are of the utmost rarity.

Inaccuracies in the registration, the references, or the basic entry appearing in the Second Census should be reported as follows, with reference always to the entry in the 1940 Census:

A 1103 Delete YUL.
S 228 Delete "HC 14390" from references; add "R 1380; Kristeller 375c."
S 536 Change date from "3 June" to "4 June."

If the institution or collector finds that there are no changes as the record stands in the 1940 Census, a reply to this effect should be addressed to Census headquarters.

The accompanying outline may be helpful in preparing the basic report where there are changes.

The editor welcomes any help which may be forthcoming, especially in calling this announcement to the attention of collectors and libraries not reached through this circular. Dealers are requested not to make their reports until the deadline is approaching, in order to prevent duplication in registration of copies.

REPORT TO THE THIRD CENSUS OF INCUNABULA IN AMERICAN LIBRARIES

(1) Registrant:

(2) Address:

(3) Designation (furnish here any special instructions regarding the identification to be used in recording the following titles):

(4) Additional holdings to be credited according to entries as they now appear in the Second Census. (Please list in accordance with the numbers of the Second Census.)

(5) Additional holdings for which the Second Census lists no numbers. (Please list with full imprint and bibliographical references on 3 x 5 cards.)

(6) Inaccuracies of registration in Second Census.

(7) Corrections or emendations of entries in the Second Census.

(8) Published catalogues available of the registrant's collection(s):

SHL
WITHDRAWN
LONDON UNIV.

Mx. North Gallery

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME FIFTY-ONE
FIRST QUARTER, 1957

"Literary Bantlings": Additions to the Holmes Bibliography
ELEANOR M. TILTON

Private Libraries in Frontier St. Louis
JOHN FRANCIS MCDERMOTT

Father Louis Hennepin: His Travels and His Books
A. H. GREENLY

Bibliographical Notes

Book Reviews

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME 51, NUMBER 1, JANUARY, FEBRUARY, MARCH, 1957

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
at 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.
(P. O. BOX NO. 397, GRAND CENTRAL STATION, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.)

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: $5.00 PER YEAR

ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, JULY 2, 1941, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK, UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.
ADDITIONAL ENTRY AT PORTLAND, MAINE.

OFFICERS

President, JOHN D. GORDAN, New York Public Library, New York 18, N. Y.

First Vice President, DONALD F. HYDE, 61 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

Second Vice President, FREDERICK B. ADAMS, JR., The Pierpont Morgan Library, 33 East 36th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Secretary, HERMAN W. LIEBERT, Yale University Library, New Haven 11, Conn.

Treasurer, C. WALLER BARRETT, 120 Wall Street, New York 5, N. Y.

Permanent Secretary and Editor of the PAPERS, EARLE F. WALBRIDGE, New York University, New York 3, N. Y.

COUNCIL

FREDERICK B. ADAMS, JR.
C. WALLER BARRETT
ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.
FREDERICK R. GOFF
JOHN D. GORDAN
DONALD F. HYDE
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
HERMAN W. LIEBERT
LAWRENCE CLARK POWELL
DOROTHY M. SCHULLIAN

Ex-Officio Members
(Past Presidents)

JAMES T. BABB
CURT F. BÜHLER
LEROY E. KIMBALL
HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG
THOMAS W. STREETER
EARL G. SWEM
R. W. G. VAIL
LAWRENCE C. WROTH

FINANCE COMMITTEE

C. WALLER BARRETT, *Chairman*

DONALD F. HYDE
LEROY E. KIMBALL
THOMAS W. STREETER

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

CURT F. BÜHLER, *Chairman*

ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.
ALLEN T. HAZEN
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
KARL KUP
WILLIAM R. PARKER
ROBERT H. TAYLOR
ERNEST J. WESSEN
LAWRENCE C. WROTH

The Society is not responsible for the opinions expressed by those contributing to the PAPERS

COPYRIGHT 1957, BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA.
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. 1300 COPIES COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE ANTHOENSEN PRESS, PORTLAND, MAINE, U. S. A.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

offers for sale

The Cost Books of Ticknor and Fields
and their Predecessors
1832-1858

EDITED BY W. S. TRYON AND WILLIAM CHARVAT

$15.00

Sabin's Dictionary
of Books Relating to America
Parts 117-172 (S-Z)

EDITED BY R. W. G. VAIL

$4.00 per part

Orders should be addressed to the Permanent Secretary,

P. O. Box 397, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

John F. Fleming

New York

SHL
- 8 APR 1967
WITHDRAWN

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME FIFTY-ONE
SECOND QUARTER, 1957

Variant Entry Fees of the Stationers' Company
WILLIAM A. JACKSON

De Morgan's Incorrect Description of Maurolico's Books
EDWARD ROSEN

Some Early Editions of the "Consulate of the Sea"
J. M. EDELSTEIN

William Barker, Tudor Translator
GEORGE B. PARKS

Bibliographical Notes

Book Reviews

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME 51, NUMBER 2, APRIL, MAY, JUNE, 1957

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
at 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.
(P. O. Box No. 397, GRAND CENTRAL STATION, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.)

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: $5.00 PER YEAR

ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, JULY 2, 1941, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK, UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.
ADDITIONAL ENTRY AT PORTLAND, MAINE.

OFFICERS

President, JOHN D. GORDAN, New York Public Library, New York 18, N. Y.

First Vice President, DONALD F. HYDE, 61 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

Second Vice President, FREDERICK B. ADAMS, JR., The Pierpont Morgan Library, 33 East 36th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Secretary, HERMAN W. LIEBERT, Yale University Library, New Haven 11, Conn.

Treasurer, C. WALLER BARRETT, 620 Park Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

Permanent Secretary and Editor of the PAPERS, EARLE F. WALBRIDGE, New York University, New York 3, N. Y.

COUNCIL

FREDERICK B. ADAMS, JR.
C. WALLER BARRETT
ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.
FREDERICK R. GOFF
JOHN D. GORDAN
DONALD F. HYDE
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
HERMAN W. LIEBERT
DOROTHY M. SCHULLIAN
ROBERT H. TAYLOR

Ex-Officio Members
(Past Presidents)

JAMES T. BABB
CURT F. BÜHLER
LEROY E. KIMBALL
HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG
LAWRENCE CLARK POWELL
THOMAS W. STREETER
EARL G. SWEM
R. W. G. VAIL
LAWRENCE C. WROTH

FINANCE COMMITTEE

C. WALLER BARRETT, *Chairman*

DONALD F. HYDE — LEROY E. KIMBALL

THOMAS W. STREETER

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

CURT F. BÜHLER, *Chairman*

ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.
ALLEN T. HAZEN
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
KARL KUP
WILLIAM R. PARKER
ROBERT H. TAYLOR
ERNEST J. WESSEN
LAWRENCE C. WROTH

The Society is not responsible for the opinions expressed by those contributing to the PAPERS

COPYRIGHT 1957, BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA.
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED.

1300 COPIES COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE ANTHOENSEN PRESS, PORTLAND, MAINE, U. S. A.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

offers for sale

The Cost Books of Ticknor and Fields
and their Predecessors
1832-1858

EDITED BY W. S. TRYON AND WILLIAM CHARVAT

$15.00

Sabin's Dictionary
of Books Relating to America
Parts 117-172 (S-Z)

EDITED BY R. W. G. VAIL

$4.00 per part

Orders should be addressed to the Permanent Secretary,

P. O. Box 397, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

John F. Fleming

New York

Nox/N Cecil

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME FIFTY-ONE
THIRD QUARTER, 1957

The Longwood Library
CHARLES W. DAVID

The Bureau Académique d'Écriture: A Footnote to the History of French Calligraphy
JAMES M. WELLS

Love for the Printed Word as Expressed in the Scheide Library
WILLIAM H. SCHEIDE

The Year After Franklin's Year
EDWIN WOLF, 2nd

Bibliographical Notes

Book Reviews

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME 51, NUMBER 3, JULY, AUGUST, SEPTEMBER, 1957

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
at 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.
(P. O. Box No. 397, GRAND CENTRAL STATION, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.)

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: $5.00 PER YEAR

ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, JULY 2, 1941, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK, UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.
ADDITIONAL ENTRY AT PORTLAND, MAINE.

OFFICERS

President, JOHN D. GORDAN, New York Public Library, New York 18, N. Y.

First Vice President, DONALD F. HYDE, 61 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

Second Vice President, FREDERICK B. ADAMS, JR., The Pierpont Morgan Library, 33 East 36th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Secretary, HERMAN W. LIEBERT, Yale University Library, New Haven 11, Conn.

Treasurer, C. WALLER BARRETT, 620 Park Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

Permanent Secretary and Editor of the PAPERS, EARLE F. WALBRIDGE, New York University, New York 3, N. Y.

COUNCIL

FREDERICK B. ADAMS, JR.
C. WALLER BARRETT
ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.
FREDERICK R. GOFF
JOHN D. GORDAN
DONALD F. HYDE
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
HERMAN W. LIEBERT
DOROTHY M. SCHULLIAN
ROBERT H. TAYLOR

Ex-Officio Members
(Past Presidents)

JAMES T. BABB
CURT F. BÜHLER
LEROY E. KIMBALL
HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG
LAWRENCE CLARK POWELL
THOMAS W. STREETER
EARL G. SWEM
R. W. G. VAIL
LAWRENCE C. WROTH

FINANCE COMMITTEE

C. WALLER BARRETT, *Chairman*
DONALD F. HYDE
LEROY E. KIMBALL
THOMAS W. STREETER

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

CURT F. BÜHLER, *Chairman*
ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.
ALLEN T. HAZEN
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
KARL KUP
WILLIAM R. PARKER
ROBERT H. TAYLOR
ERNEST J. WESSEN
LAWRENCE C. WROTH

The Society is not responsible for the opinions expressed by those contributing to the PAPERS

COPYRIGHT 1957, BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA.
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. 1200 COPIES COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE ANTHOENSEN PRESS, PORTLAND, MAINE, U. S. A.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

offers for sale

The Cost Books of Ticknor and Fields
and their Predecessors
1832-1858

EDITED BY W. S. TRYON AND WILLIAM CHARVAT

$15.00

Sabin's Dictionary
of Books Relating to America
Parts 117-172 (S-Z)

EDITED BY R. W. G. VAIL

$4.00 per part

Orders should be addressed to the Permanent Secretary,

P. O. Box 397, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

John F. Fleming

New York

SHL
WITHDRAWN
11 APR 1958

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME FIFTY-ONE
FOURTH QUARTER, 1957

The Nineteenth Century Three-Volume Novel
CHARLES E. LAUTERBACH
and
EDWARD S. LAUTERBACH

Literary Research and Bibliographical Training
CURT F. BÜHLER

Caxton as a Literary Critic
DONALD B. SANDS

Bibliographical Notes

Book Reviews

The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME 51, NUMBER 4, OCTOBER, NOVEMBER, DECEMBER, 1957

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA,
at 100 Washington Square, New York 3, N. Y.
(P. O. Box No. 397, GRAND CENTRAL STATION, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.)

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: $7.00 PER YEAR

ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, JULY 2, 1941, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK, UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.
ADDITIONAL ENTRY AT PORTLAND, MAINE.

OFFICERS

President, JOHN D. GORDAN, New York Public Library, New York 18, N. Y.

First Vice President, DONALD F. HYDE, 61 Broadway, New York 6, N. Y.

Second Vice President, FREDERICK B. ADAMS, JR., The Pierpont Morgan Library, 33 East 36th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Secretary, HERMAN W. LIEBERT, Yale University Library, New Haven 11, Conn.

Treasurer, C. WALLER BARRETT, 620 Park Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

Permanent Secretary and Editor of the PAPERS, EARLE F. WALBRIDGE, New York University, New York 3, N. Y.

COUNCIL

FREDERICK B. ADAMS, JR.
C. WALLER BARRETT
ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.
FREDERICK R. GOFF
JOHN D. GORDAN
DONALD F. HYDE
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
HERMAN W. LIEBERT
DOROTHY M. SCHULLIAN
ROBERT H. TAYLOR

Ex-Officio Members
(Past Presidents)

JAMES T. BABB
CURT F. BÜHLER
LEROY E. KIMBALL
HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG
LAWRENCE CLARK POWELL
THOMAS W. STREETER
EARL G. SWEM
R. W. G. VAIL
LAWRENCE C. WROTH

FINANCE COMMITTEE

C. WALLER BARRETT, *Chairman*
DONALD F. HYDE
LEROY E. KIMBALL
THOMAS W. STREETER

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

CURT F. BÜHLER, *Chairman*
ALEXANDER DAVIDSON, JR.
ALLEN T. HAZEN
WILLIAM A. JACKSON
KARL KUP
WILLIAM R. PARKER
ROBERT H. TAYLOR
ERNEST J. WESSEN
LAWRENCE C. WROTH

The Society is not responsible for the opinions expressed by those contributing to the PAPERS

COPYRIGHT 1957, BY THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA.
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED. 1200 COPIES COMPOSED AND PRINTED BY THE ANTHOENSEN PRESS, PORTLAND, MAINE, U. S. A.

THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF AMERICA

offers for sale

The Cost Books of Ticknor and Fields
and their Predecessors
1832-1858

EDITED BY W. S. TRYON AND WILLIAM CHARVAT

$15.00

Sabin's Dictionary
of Books Relating to America
Parts 117-172 (S-Z)

EDITED BY R. W. G. VAIL

$4.00 per part

Orders should be addressed to the Permanent Secretary,

P. O. Box 397, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

John F. Fleming

New York